ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

Epiſtolary Correſpondence

OF AN

AGENT of the King of PERSIA,

RESIDING AT

ATHENS during the Peloponneſian War.

CONTAINING

The HISTORY of the Times, in Diſpatches to the Miniſters of State at the Perſian Court.

BESIDES

LETTERS on various Subjects between Him and His Friends.

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A. M. 3578. 3 *Olymp.* 88.

The ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER CI.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

ALAS! CLEANDER, the throne of CYRUS has loſt it's firmeſt ſupport, and our monarch the ableſt of his miniſters, in the perſon of MEGABYZUS. This great man expired, full of years and honours, at his palace in Suſa the 15th of this moon, with a circumſtance attending his death, which rarely befals thoſe in his ſtation, that both the tears of the prince, and the lamentations of the people attended him to the grave. And indeed their ſorrows were with good reaſon united; for the hereditary eſtates and dignities, which deſcended to him from his grandfather MEGABYZUS, who aſſiſted to deſtroy the Magian tyranny,

and his father ZOPYRUS, who took Babylon, threw him under no temptations of complying ſervilely with the meaſures of a court, to raiſe a fortune, or of giving up the intereſt of the crown, from which he derived his honours, through an affectation of popularity. At the ſame time the virtue and generoſity of his temper rendered him incapable of ſuggeſting any counſels but ſuch, as tended to the mutual benefit of the monarch, and the ſubject. His many ſhining qualities, and glorious exploits, are at preſent the reigning topic of our converſation. And though the remembrance of them rather ſerves to imbitter than allay our concern, permit me, in compliance with the general task, to indulge myſelf a little on a ſubject, to which thou thyſelf mayſt be in part a ſtranger, ſince thy acquaintance at court was not formed, till the moſt active ſcenes of his life were over.

MEGABYZUS was educated under the eyes of his father in the regular and manly diſcipline of the ancient Perſians, of all others the beſt adapted to rectify the heart. Hence he imbibed thoſe principles of juſtice and fortitude, which carried him through the world with untainted integrity. He was early inured to the dangers of war, according to the cuſtom of the young Perſian ſatraps; and performed ſuch ſervices in his firſt campaigns, as recommended him to the notice of DARIUS, a prince remarkable for a ſuperior skill in diſtinguiſhing the merit of his ſubjects. In the next reign, MEGABYZUS's favour was ſo far from being diminiſhed, that, when XERXES undertook his expedition againſt Greece, he made him general of the land-forces in conjunction with MARDONIUS; and, as a farther mark of diſtinction,

tion, allied him to the royal blood by a marriage with AMYTIS his daughter. As thou knoweſt, that the ill ſucceſs of the invaſion of Greece was owing to the raſh counſels, which conducted it, there is reaſon to believe, that MEGABYZUS took no greater ſhare in the management of the war, than the duties of his office required from him; and even declined being concerned in a project, on which XERXES would have ſent him, of plundering Delphi. It was in the happy reign of our preſent monarch, that the merits of this great man principally diſplayed themſelves; for the wiſdom of the prince never fails to ſhed a cheriſhing influence over the abilities of his ſervants. The firſt ſervice, which MEGABYZUS performed, was no leſs than that of diſcovering and preventing the treaſons of ARTABANUS, who, after taking away the life of XERXES, imputed the murder to his eldeſt ſon DARIUS; and when this deteſted calumny had brought undeſerved puniſhment on the young prince, he continued his practices againſt ARTAXERXES, the next heir. MEGABYZUS, not content with diſtinguiſhing his fidelity by tracing out this dangerous conſpiracy, gave ſtrong proofs of his courage, in a battle againſt the adherents of ARTABANUS, who raiſed a rebellion to revenge his death. He was afterwards thought the fitteſt perſon to command in Egypt, where the natives had taken the advantage of theſe troubles to throw off their obedience to Perſia, and were ſtrongly ſupported by the Athenians. MEGABYZUS defeated the rebels and their allies in a battle near Memphis, and ſoon reduced them to ſurrender, upon this ſingle condition, that their lives ſhould be ſpared.

Thou wilt wonder, that I paſs over in ſilence a few ſucceeding years of this great man's life; let it ſuffice to ſay, that by a ſteady obſervance of duty through the remaining part of it, he expiated the ſhort folly he had been guilty of, in departing from that ſtrict ſubmiſſion to his prince, which is required by the laws of Perſia. Thoſe, who were acquainted with his high ſpirit, and high notions of honour, were perhaps leſs ſurprized than others at his indignation, to ſee his ſucceſsful ſervices ſo ill requited, as that the Egyptian priſoners, and INARIUS their pretended king, ſhould be put to death, contrary to the public faith, which he had engaged to them for their ſafety. On his return to court, our monarch, who perhaps thought him not ſufficiently humbled, or had a mind to put his fidelity to a trial, took hold of an occaſion to baniſh him to Cirta, on pretence, that he had violated a ſtanding law of the empire, which enjoins, that none ſhould dare at any hunting to ſtrike the beaſt, before the King had thrown his javelin. MEGABYZUS behaved himſelf with ſuch reſignation in his exile, that, by the interceſſion of his friends, he was reſtored to the royal favour, and employed to oppoſe the attempts of CIMON. The conſtant run of ill ſucceſs, which attended us in every engagement with the Greeks, had ſo diſpirited our ſoldiers, that all the conduct of MEGABYZUS could not inſpire them with courage, in a battle, which he ventured againſt the Athenian general on the coaſts of Cilicia. This induced him to be a ſtrenuous adviſer of peace, that the empire might have leiſure and opportunity to recover it's loſſes. The conditions of the treaty, which goes by the name

name of CIMON's peace, were, as thou knoweſt, rather ſuited to the exigency of our affairs, than the honour or advantage of the empire, and occaſioned at firſt great diſcontents among the people. But MEGABYZUS both foreſaw and foretold the advantages, which muſt enſue to us, when the Greeks, delivered from foreign wars, would in all probability turn their arms againſt themſelves. This always made him attentive to the progreſs of thoſe diſturbances, which the reſtleſs ambition of the ſtates, where thou reſideſt, perpetually excites. He employed ARTHMIUS of Zelis to foment the quarrels between Athens and Sparta; and when the war now carrying on was ready to break out, propoſed in council, that thou ſhouldſt be ſent to watch over the counſels of Greece. Thou gaveſt him ſo much ſatisfaction in this employment, that on his death-bed he ſpoke of thy abilities in the ſtrongeſt as well as the kindeſt terms to the king himſelf, who did him the honour of a viſit.

And in truth, my CLEANDER, thou haſt occaſion for the patronage of all thy friends. TERIBAZUS the treaſurer, whoſe crafty inſinuating temper thou art not unacquainted with, privately impels that poſitive old counſellor, the maſter of the poſts, to ſpread about diſadvantageous reports of thy conduct. They give out, that thou haſt indeed tranſmitted the news of the Piræeus with tolerable exactneſs; but neither raiſed up friends to Perſia, or penetrated into the ſecrets of the Athenian counſels. That, inſtead of joining with CLEON and his faction, whom it is our intereſt to ſupport, as they deſire the continuance of the war, thou converſeſt with none but thoſe, who declare for peace,

and even mingleſt in their cabals. PETISAS, the eunuch, and ARTASYRAS, keeper of the records, do thee ill offices. The chief aim of this fooliſh intrigue, which I have taken ſome pains to get to the bottom of, is to contrive thy removal from Athens, that one TIMOCLES may be thy ſucceſſor. He is a rhetorician of Eubœa, who having fled his country for debt, has rambled over moſt part of Greece, and procured recommendations to ſome of the ſatraps here. He appears, from the little I have ſeen of him, to be a talkative conceited pedant, pretending to great correſpondences in Greece, and to be well skilled, not only in the poliier arts, which have been his ſtudy, but in the politics of each republic, and the diſpoſitions of the ruling men. He is a conſtant attendant at the tables of ſeveral of our ſatraps, to whom he pays an aſſiduous court, by flattering every ſplendid vanity, and complying with each fantaſtic humour of his patrons; the never-failing arts, by which a paraſite and ſycophant finds means to ſhut the doors of the great againſt modeſt worth. I can aſſure thee, that the calumnies of thy enemies make no impreſſion upon the mind of our ſovereign. He has ſupported the remonſtrances of GOBRYAS by ſuch expreſs orders to the treaſurer concerning thy remittances, as he will not dare to diſobey. That honeſt miniſter is employed in the friendly but diſagreeable office of ſettling the affairs of MEGABYZUS's family, which are much diſordered by the infamous practices of APOLLONIDES the phyſician. I know not how to explain to thee, at this diſtance, ſuch a complication of guilt. That Coan wretch has dared

to

to pollute the honour of the royal blood, and ſtain the bed of his maſter and benefactor with adultery. But let me draw a veil over this ſcene of iniquity, and only wiſh, that the name of AMYTIS may not deſcend to poſterity in the annals of the family of ACHÆMENES. The bare touching this ſubject renews my grief for the loſs of ſo able a miniſter, which thoſe alone are capable of feeling as they ought, whom hiſtory and experience teaches, how much the influence of one ſuperior genius contributes to the happineſs of nations *.

From Suſa. P.

Farewel.

* It is not improper to obſerve here once for all, that the principal facts in theſe letters, relating to MEGABYZUS and his family, are likewiſe mentioned, though with leſs accuracy and fewer circumſtances, in the fragments of CTESIAS, which are uſually printed at the end of HERODOTUS. The confirmation, which thoſe fragments receive from our collection, will probably give the reader a better opinion of the CNIDIAN phyſician's veracity, whoſe fabulous accounts of India have greatly ſunk the credit of his Perſian hiſtory; though one would imagine, that his long reſidence in the court of ARTAXERXES MNEMON, and his perſonal favour with that prince, muſt have enabled him to compile it from the moſt authentic materials.

Note by the Tranſlator.

LETTER CII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I HAVE taken all opportunities of improving my acquaintance with SOCRATES. The ſeveral converſations I have had with him, on the ſubject of religion, give me no reaſon to repent of it. And this thou wilt perhaps think ſtrange, when I ingenuouſly confeſs to thee, that he has unſettled the favourable ſentiments, I entertained before, of every known mode of popular worſhip eſtabliſhed on the earth; ſuch is either the dexterity or the force of his reaſonings. We walked out together the other day in a very ſpeculative mood, at ſome diſtance from the city, towards the ſhore, where we ſurveyed the ravages, which the ſea has lately made on the oppoſite coaſt of Eubœa. It was a melancholy proſpect to obſerve trees torn up by the roots; the hopes of the huſbandman floating on the ſurface of the waters; and as the ſcene made a ſtrong impreſſion on my fancy, ſo it called up my compaſſion. I could not help crying out in a fit of very humane enthuſiaſm; "Good providence! why doſt thou ſuffer the evil prin-"ciple to deform and deſolate thy works! How will it "glad the univerſe to ſee the day, when the power in-"dulged to this being ſhall ſubmit to thine!"

SOCRATES interrupted me, while I was running on in my complaints; "And pray, ſaid he, CLEANDER, do you know the intention of the Creator, in producing that infinite variety of weeds and inſects, which follow one another

another in numberleſs ſucceſſions every hour, and which ſuffer as much from the tread of the thinking philoſophers, as of the heedleſs peaſant? Theſe always ſeem ſuperfluous, and are often inconvenient to us; and yet doubtleſs have their uſe and importance in the ſyſtem. Are you acquainted, continued he, with the deſign of the ſhip-wright in each rope, ſail, or timber, that contributes to the building of a galley? And yet you can truſt to his diſcretion and experience in ſuch matters. Perhaps the tone of every ſtring, upon the Doric harp, may, when ſeparately taken, be jarring and unpleaſant; and yet their ſounds are ſo exactly proportioned to each other, as to compoſe the moſt ſtriking and engaging melody. Will you then place leſs confidence in the mechaniſm of the divine artiſt, than in that of a ſhip-wright? Or, becauſe you know more of the harmony of an harp, than of the univerſe, will you doubt the ſkill of him, who formed the muſic of the ſpheres, and preſerves the minuteſt atom, that lies under our feet, or the largeſt orb, that rolls over our heads, in it's proper ſituation?" "The ſubmiſſion you recommend, returned I, is a good maxim." "If then, anſwered he, you are by no means maſter of the volume of nature; why ſhould you pretend to criticiſe it? If you are perſuaded of the deity's exiſtence and omnipotence; of the boundleſs wiſdom, benevolence, and rectitude of his nature; ſatisfy your doubts with this rational as well as pious ſolution, that, whatever happens either in the natural or moral world, with reſpect to it's ultimate tendency and the good of all, operates as it ought to do. And that oriental doctrine of the future reſignation of

power

power to be made by ARIMANIUS to OROMASDES, is neither more nor leſs, than a figurative or allegorical manner of expreſſing this plain truth. Who knows but the guardian genius of our ſtate may have turned this inundation, reſulting neceſſarily from thoſe general laws, by which matter is directed, on the coaſt of Eubœa, where it's conſequences are leſs fatal, than they would have been on that of Athens? Perhaps therefore we have reaſon to be particularly thankful. Let that be as it will; it is agreed, that ſtorms and tempeſts are of ſervice in clearing the atmoſphere from vapours: and why may not earthquakes and torrents, however they injure and diſtreſs us for a while, anſwer ſome unknown purpoſes of laſting benefit? Of theſe things we are both incompetent and improper judges."

"I ſee, interrupted I, what you aim at: you would argue, that all evil is partial, and not abſolute; that what we ſee of it ariſes not from any malevolent being, counteracting the good one, but from the original ſcheme and conſtitution of things. At the ſame time you muſt own, that uninterrupted tradition, one of the moſt univerſal and acknowledged arguments for the belief of a providence, ſpeaks as ſtrongly in ſupport of the opinion, which you controvert. This opinion has been long held by the Perſians, and many other nations of the world. For they thought, (and rightly I believe) that evil in no ſhape whatever could be derived from GOD: they thought, that as he is perfectly good, he could never intermix the leaſt ſhare of it in his works; and as he is perfectly wiſe, they imagined, if the whole had depended on his will, he would have been careful

to

to contrive it better." "From ſuch narrow and contracted views of the ſyſtem, replied SOCRATES, men have conceived it neceſſary to ſuppoſe an ARIMANIUS, in order to clear difficulties; little apprehending, that all evil, like the viper, carries along with it an antidote for the poiſon it ſheds. We find vice or moral evil is attended with pain or natural evil: by this means men are brought to a ſenſe of what is right, and natural evil in it's turn produces moral good. By another revolution very obvious and frequent, moral good brings forth natural good; and that, producing riot and exceſs, again brings forth moral evil. Such is the revolving condition of things; nor is any part of the creation calculated to unhappy ends, in the whole golden chain of cauſes and effects, which hangs down from heaven to earth, and is fixed to the foot of JOVE's throne. You ſee there is no occaſion for the bad principle to account for appearances in morals, or in phyſics. It is then highly reaſonable to believe there is none." "But, ſaid I, to wave the ſuppoſition of a malevolent being exiſting from all eternity; methinks another opinion is not abſurd, which is derived from ancient tradition, that before the formation of the world out of Chaos, a certain ſpirit of high order revolted from his allegiance to the Deity, and drew off with him a large number of demons. Theſe perpetually endeavour to diſturb the regularity of the univerſe, and are more eſpecially employed in haunting the ways of men, and ſuggeſting to us thoſe iniquities, which may reduce us to the ſame ſtate of miſery with themſelves."

"Even this ſentiment, anſwered SOCRATES, appears to me liable to ſuch difficulties, as ſufficiently

explode it; although it is ſecure from the great variety of contradictions, on which the other is founded. It is improbable, that a being ſo excellent in rational endowments, and therefore ſenſible of his own finiteneſs, ſhould entertain a thought of rebelling againſt the infinite providence. We find even men, frail and ſhort-ſighted as they are, expoſed to innumerable unruly appetites, and ever complying with their impulſe, are, when they commit vice, far from meaning to affront the Deity, and only deſign to gratify a craving and tormenting paſſion. Such beings, as the revolted ones you ſpeak of, could not then be ſo abſurd, as to attempt dethroning that power, who raiſed them from nothing, and by whoſe goodneſs they ſubſiſted; and as they were of ſo ſublime a nature, they could be open to no paſſion, but the more refined one of ambition or of pride. From the faint attacks of both theſe the purity of their judgments would preſerve them: In the former caſe, a juſt ſenſe of the divine perfections; in the latter, of their own. Elſe, I would aſk, of what value is exalted reaſon? But granting there is this commonwealth of evil ſpirits exiſting in the vaſt expanſe; yet I doubt, whether they are ſuffered to break in upon the borders of our world. To ſpeak plainly, I muſt think their agency here not only neither terrible nor troubleſom, but entirely unneceſſary. Our virtue is ſufficiently aſſaulted by internal paſſions or external allurements; and reaſon often quits the field, unequal to the combat. It is to be preſumed therefore, if theſe ſpirits are permitted to enſnare mankind, that the good Being gives us in thoſe moments an extraordinary pow-

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er to aſſiſt our reaſon, in withſtanding the extraordinary temptations, which engage our appetites. So that, admitting the fact to be as you ſtate it, we are juſt in the condition, in which we were before, as to the proportion of *temptation* to invite tranſgreſſion, and of *reaſon* to ſupport virtue. Hence I maintain, that the agency of theſe beings is unneceſſary; and as the wiſeſt of all Beings can do nothing, that is ſuperfluous, I muſt think the opinion is an error, however ſupported by tradition, or enforced by authority. The truth is, the belief of the evil principle (as I have already explained to you) aroſe from the conjectures of ignorance; and the worſhip of him aroſe from the ſuggeſtions of Fear; the two fatal ingredients of Superſtition, which begins in the firſt, and terminates in the laſt. For the underſtanding and the paſſions reciprocally miſrepreſent objects, and ſerve to confirm one another in their mutual miſtakes. I hardly imagine this idolatry took place ſoon after the creation of things, or early in a ſtate of innocence and nature. The human race would be pleaſed in the beginning with the freſhneſs and novelty of all around them. They would addreſs themſelves to the good principle in ſongs of thankſgiving; and as, during their artleſneſs and ſimplicity, ſcarce any natural evils and no moral evils appeared, they would not turn their thoughts or adoration to the bad principle. And indeed it is rational to ſuppoſe, that it would be in the infancy of an undepraved world, as in the infancy of man. We ſhould be more governed by Hope, a paſſion, that attends the harmleſs and unpractiſed, than by Fear, a paſſion, that grows only from diſappointments and experience.

perience. Afterwards when regular ſocieties were, by degrees, ſcattered over the face of the earth, natural evil increaſing with the improvements of art and the fantaſtic elegancies of life, and moral evil ſpringing up from the refinements of policy, and the jarring intereſts of private perſons and of nations, mankind became diſſatisfied with the diſpenſations of providence, not apprehending they had brought theſe calamities on themſelves; endeavoured to ſearch for the cauſe of them; and at laſt dreſſed up in their affrighted imaginations that airy viſion of the malicious being. Thus ſtands the origin of the opinion, whoſe progreſs I take to have been this.

When the difficulty of accounting for the phænomenon of evil was firſt ſtarted in the minds of men, they thought their God was enraged with them, believing he had the ſeeds of peeviſhneſs within him as well as they; and in order to mollify him, they worſhipped him under the particular conſideration of his angry actions. This was done in many countries by the worſhip of evil characters recorded in their hiſtories, which were thought to be emblematical of the wrathful agency of the Deity. In Tyre, and in Carthage, (a Tyrian colony,) they ſtill continue to offer human ſacrifices to SATURN or MOLOCH, who probably was once a cruel tyrant in that kingdom, and adored upon his death, to prevent him from perſevering, in another life, in the malevolent diſpoſitions he had ſhewn to his people in this. The worſhip of SATURN was afterwards interpreted to bear a general alluſion to the diſorder obſerved in the ſyſtem, and regarded only as a peculiar manner of appeaſing the anger of the one Deity. The caſe was the

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ſame in Egypt as to the worſhip of TYPHON, who, in his hiſtorical capacity, was the diſturber of his country, as OSIRIS was the benefactor of it; in his allegorical, he was the burning heat of the ſun producing drought in their lands, and the anger of the Deity exerting itſelf in the puniſhment of the world. But when men ſaw an uninterrupted train of evils come in upon them, inſtead of here and there an inconvenience or a miſchief, as at firſt, they thought theſe different operations could not be derived from one cauſe; and to remedy the ſeeming inconſiſtency, they imputed the good effects to one being, and the evil to another. Hence they implored the aſſiſtance of the one, and deprecated the reſentment of the other; never reflecting, that however they might hope to ſoften a being various in his temper, it was abſurd to intreat or expect compaſſion from one perfectly malicious. "I am very much obliged to you, SOCRATES, ſaid I, for your unreſerved diſquiſition of this matter; and ſince we have entered ſo fairly and inſenſibly into the ſubject of idolatry, I wiſh you would go on with it." "We are now, anſwered the philoſopher, returned to the city, and my engagements call me to a ſympoſium with ALCIBIADES. But I flatter myſelf another opportunity will ſoon be offered to us." And ſo we parted.

Whether there was any weight in theſe reaſonings, thy penetration will inform thee. Thou wilt at leaſt judge from hence, how freely SOCRATES diſcourſes on every point of moral inſtruction and popular belief. For my own part, I was ſilenced, not convinced by his arguments; or, if I were convinced, I was unwilling to be converted by them.

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The detection of error, ORSAMES, is as neceſſary to the confirmation of truth, as the contemplation of vice to the practice of virtue. And yet I queſtion, whether it be worth while to think for our ſelves upon theſe matters, to reform ſpeculative errors, and depart from received opinions. Such enquiries expoſe a man to various cenſures. The diſcreet upbraid him with imprudence, the prejudiced with abſurdity, the dull with affectation, aud the bigots with impiety. In Greece indeed there is one circumſtance attending theſe ſtudies, which prevents the ill conſequences, that might otherwiſe ariſe from them. For the philoſophers, not eſteeming the people fit to be admitted into their Arcana, lay it down, that truth is intended for private entertainment, rather than for publick utility; as if it were like the water of the Choaſpes, whoſe refreſhing draughts are indulged to none, but the ſovereigns of Aſia.

C.

LETTER CIII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS the Mage.

WONDER not, wiſe SMERDIS, that I frequently ſend thee my obſervations on human nature, and it's efforts towards wiſdom in this country. Aſſure thyſelf, no place in the world affords ſuch variety as Greece. Thou, who art uſed to converſe with a people contented with the wiſdom of ZOROASTER, liveſt in perpetual calm. Thou canſt have no conception of of the turns and whimſical ſallies of the human mind, where

where full liberty is indulged. The peace, which ariſes from an union of opinion, is like a dead ſtill ſea; without danger indeed, but it ſhows not the ſtrength and nature of that element. In this place, if a man preſerve but an external regard for the Gods, the principles of philoſophy and religion are mere matters of choice. He may take what maſter he pleaſes; or, if he like it better, (which ſome have affected) he may take none, and ſo have the credit of being ſelf-taught, and perhaps too of being the only follower, as well as founder of his ſyſtem.

There is a man of no ſmall note at Abdera, who to a knowledge of nature has joined that of mankind. By a conſtant train of reaſoning founded on experiment, he attained the one; and the change of manners, that a courſe of travels preſented him, gave him a ſufficient inſight into the other. The reſult of this improved genius is ſomething extraordinary; he very much affects ſolitude, but with no deſign towards ſerious ſpeculations; nothing is farther from him: he ſhuns men, not to avoid the gaiety of converſation, and the impertinence of mirth, but becauſe he can enjoy himſelf better, and be merrier without them. No body laughs more heartily at a jeſt he has juſt heard, than this philoſopher does at his own ordinary reflections. His imagination affords him a conſtant ſupply of ridiculous images; but if any of his neighbours interrupt his merriment by falling in his way, he turns the laugh upon them. It is to no purpoſe to tell him, they are diſpoſed to be ſerious; that they expect his condolence for the loſs of their treaſure, the failure of a vintage, or the death of a relation.

He knows no paſſion but one; and whatever turn of mind their fortune gives them, his is always to be merry. In ſhort, if he hear, that an heir is born, or a family is extinct; if he be told of new honours conferred, or diſgrace falling upon a great man; of the ſucceſs of an army, or it's defeat; his laughter is equally immoderate. This philoſophic turn has ſomething ſo particular in it, that the whole town agreed to ſend for HIPPOCRATES to cure him of his frenzy. The phyſician, upon his arrival, found him in the laborious employment of diſſecting animals, and was received with a loud laugh; which however was ſo far from convincing him of his patient's diſorder, that, after ſome converſation with him, he turned back with indignation, and ſaid, he was the only man amongſt them in his ſound ſenſes.

Thou, my venerable friend, whoſe compoſed mind is as the ſerene brightneſs of the moon, wilt almoſt fancy this extravagant character is of my own forming. But I aſſure thee, I have heard alſo of another maſter in philoſophy of a direct oppoſite turn, who weeps at every thing, which raiſes the mirth of the odd citizen of Abdera. I cannot tell, which of theſe two to prefer; and it is impoſſible to approve both. But I think, if that learned phyſician had confined them together, till they had reconciled their ſyſtems to each other, he would have taken a reaſonable method of bringing them to that moderation, which thou art too well acquainted with, either to let the vice and miſery of our ſpecies ſubject thy mind to perpetual melancholy, or the vanities and follies of it be the materials for thy ſport and merriment. Farewel. H.

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LETTER CIV.

ARTAXERXES the KING to CLEANDER.

THE ſatisfaction, which you have given us by your diligence and abilities in the diſcharge of your employment at Athens, hath been ſo great, that we have not only ordered our miniſters to ſignify it to you in their diſpatches, but beſtowed ſeveral marks of our royal favour upon you, as a juſt reward of your faithful ſervices.

We do not doubt of the continuance of that zeal and induſtry, which hath hitherto appeared in your conduct; and have therefore thought fit to entruſt you with an affair of the higheſt importance, which demands as much ſecrecy in the management, as ſpeed in the execution. You cannot be ignorant, that during the time of our royal father, the people of Bœotia, particularly the Thebans, were well affected to the Perſian cauſe, and even, in oppoſition to the reſt of Greece, made the ſubmiſſion of earth and water, which was demanded of them; perſevering in their fidelity to us inviolably, till the unfortunate battle of Platea. We have lately received undoubted intelligence, that notwithſtanding the change, which happened at Thebes, ſoon after that action, and the general notion, that the city is entirely devoted to the intereſt of Lacedæmon, there ſtill ſubſiſt great remains of the old Median faction, who want nothing but encouragement from us, and ſupplies of money, to take the government into their hands. Upon theſe grounds we direct you, that without the leaſt delay or ſtaying for

further orders, you ſet out for Thebes; and if you find things in the condition, which we have reaſon to believe they are in, you muſt concert, with the deſcendants of TIMAGINES and ARTAGINUS, (families well known for their adherence to our intereſt) thoſe alterations in the ſenate and magiſtracy, which may bring that ſtate back to it's former meaſures. It will then be eaſy for you to prevail, that we may be admitted into the Peloponneſian league, or at leaſt the Bœotian confederacy; and that a proper place of arms, as the fortreſs of Elatea, may be provided for the reception of the troops we ſhall ſend to their aſſiſtance. We have ordered our treaſurer TERIBAZUS to ſend you by the ſhip, which conveys this packet, remittances ſufficient to enable you to put our deſign in execution; and ſo not doubting, that you will exert your utmoſt induſtry and abilities to accompliſh this important ſervice, we recommend you to the protection of OROMASDES.

Given at Suſa the palace, the 22d of the moon Aban in the 41ſt year of our reign.

P.

LETTER CV.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I Met SOCRATES very lately returning from a ſacrifice, at which he had been preſent with many others in the temple of Minerva. "I eſteem myſelf extremely fortunate, ſaid I, in meeting you at a ſeaſon ſo opportune for religious ſpeculations. You know the

the claim, which I have upon you; and though various things have paſſed ſince our laſt conference, in the daily courſe of buſineſs and converſation, in which we are engaged; yet I aſſure you, my thoughts have often recurred to the matters you inſiſted on." After ſome recollection the philoſopher began thus. "That the beſt things are liable to the greateſt degeneracy, is a very evident maxim; becauſe in their original formation they are furtheſt from it. The ſtep from one degree of imperfection to another is not ſo ſtriking, as the fall from perfect purity to abſolute depravity. The ſtate of religion in the world comes up to this obſervation. When it was ſent down from heaven, it was amiable as it's divine author, agreeable to the concluſions of reaſon, and the ſureſt ally of it; in a word, every way ſuited to that plan of action, which is beſt for moral agents. But now it has contracted intricacy, and thrown off it's ſimplicity; it has adopted ſeverity inſtead of chearfulneſs; and though, according to the fair exemplar engraven on the untainted mind, it was the moſt unfit cover for the purpoſes of guilt, it is become the common inſtrument of iniquity and diſſimulation. Theſe are the corruptions of weak heads, and unſound hearts. The former have made religion an abſurd thing, and the latter an immoral one. Like an uſeful medicine, it was firſt ſpoiled by the mixture of ſuperſtition, which intoxicated the reaſon, and then vice applied it to poiſon the manners of mankind. Indeed, no thorough reformation in the practice of the world can be expected, unleſs the theory and foundation of virtue is regulated better: And while the belief of

Polytheiſm prevails over that of the unity, it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh either. For till a juſt notion of the nature and attributes of GOD is popularly taught, the only ſtrong baſis of moral ſpeculation is wanting to ſupport the edifice of moral conduct. Whenever that principle is inculcated, fictitious deities will be aboliſhed; and we ſhall perceive it to be with improvements in religion, as it may ſome day or other be with phyſics: Effects, before imputed each to a particular cauſe, will be aſcribed to the true general one; for the more we know of nature and morality, the ſimpler we find both."

"By way of introduction, ſaid I, SOCRATES, to your thoughts on the riſe of idolatry, to which your diſcourſe has now brought you; let me ask you, whether it is not probable, that GOD would, in condeſcenſion to human infirmities, when firſt he ſettled man, that ſlow and ſhallow reaſoner, in the world, make ſome ſupernatural revelation of himſelf to him, in a manner, that ſhould affect his ſenſes." "I was going to have ſuggeſted the ſame remark, anſwered he; and it is from hence we may trace the origin and progreſs of that worſhip, which, though ſtruck out in the wildneſs of barbariſm, has been confirmed by the ſober policy of legiſlators. For after GOD had put us on the right track, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he would withdraw all ſenſible manifeſtations of himſelf, and ſuffer the ſpeculative improvements of men to keep pace with their practical. Nevertheleſs, tradition would be unable to maintain genuine and unadulterated ſentiments of him. The groſs conceptions of men would ſtill be ſeeking after ſome viſible emblems or ſymbols. In ſuch circumſtances, they would moſt readily

readily regard the ſun, whom they found to be the great diſpenſer of light and warmth, as the vice-gerent of providence in the ſyſtem, to whom the divine energy was more eſpecially communicated. They would conſider the moon too, as advancing the fruits of the earth by her milder and qualified beams; and in a ſubordinate degree would reverence the ſtars and planets. I would even carry this fondneſs of the early ages for ſenſible exhibitions much farther. For becauſe the ſplendor of theſe celeſtial fires would ſometimes be withdrawn from us by their neceſſary courſes, or concealed by clouds and tempeſts; it was not unnatural to have recourſe to ſymbols of our own making, and to addreſs ourſelves to ordinary terreſtial fire. This would be indeed the emblem of an emblem; and when once men were adding to their number, one may without difficulty conceive, how ſoon the generality would be diſtracted with them, and fix their devotion on that object, which was deſigned only to raiſe the attention. In conſidering the ſeveral parts of the œconomy, after having paid ſo much honour to the active powers, they could not neglect the ſubject of their genial operations, the earth. And ſo, in proceſs of time, they fell down before the elements, which compoſe the world, then plants and animals, in ſhort every thing derived from them, and adored the parents in the offspring.

Such would be religion in a ſtate of nature, unaſſiſted by prieſts and temples, unadorned by offerings and ceremonies. But when once the arts of life were growing in the world, the rude inventor of a plough, the firſt ſower of grain, the architect of a ſorry hut, would af-

ter their death be commemorated in mournful rites, and worſhipped out of gratitude. Encouraged by the invention of theſe arts, men would by degrees unite themſelves in a ſocial ſtate. They would build cities, divide property, form communities, go out together to oppoſe their enemies. Hence legiſlators, magiſtrates, and generals would ariſe; and thoſe, who by their artifice, or abilities, could gain ſuperior dignity and eſteem, would be followed by the vows and intreaties of the people into another ſtate, as ſoon as they were departed from this. An imagination, that theſe heroes were capable of continuing their good offices to their friends in a future life, how quickly ſoever it may be ſuggeſted by the belief and deſire of immortality incident to all men, would be the more obvious, if any tradition were remaining in the times we ſpeak of, that good ſpirits were formerly ſent down by providence to watch the earth and it's inhabitants, and open any peculiar commiſſions to mankind. And now theology became more complicated every day.

The names of the ſun and moon were firſt beſtowed on a good king or queen as a compliment, to intimate, that they reſembled thoſe bodies in their beneficial effects. Afterwards, when the adoration of deified mortals was to be advanced into popular eſtabliſhment, their names were given to theſe celeſtial luminaries, inſtead of the name of each luminary being given to them. It was ſaid too, that they reſided perſonally in different ſtars; and hence every country has adapted the ſphere to it's diſtinct heroes. Thus the tranſition was very eaſy from one ſort of worſhip to the other.

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In more refined ages, the crafty legiſlator pretended, that his authority came from ſome old local hero, who had been raiſed into a tutelar God, either by the ſuperſtition of the worſhippers for his memory, or their pride, in thinking they deſerved his particular regard. To theſe Gods, both family and national, ſacrifices and prayers were offered, agreeably to their various hiſtoric tempers. We have already obſerved, how, during the worſhip of the natural divinities, they proſtrated themſelves before the elements of the ſenſible or irrational ſyſtem. Analogous to that was the reſpect ſhewn to the elements of the rational or intellectual, which took it's riſe from the human apotheoſis. They adored juſtice, fortitude, compaſſion, and thoſe good qualities of the mind, that had exalted the characters of heroes. "The oddeſt of all worſhip, ſaid I, is that performed to brutes by the Egyptians. I have taken ſome pains to enquire into it; and once I received a very ingenious and elaborate letter* on this ſubject from a friend of mine, now travelling through the Nomes of that country, whoſe parts and learning I eſteem highly. But I ſhould be glad to know, whether your notion of it is the ſame with that, which has been taught me. "I thank you, anſwered SOCRATES, for mentioning a topic ſo material to our purpoſe; for ſome time ago I queſtioned a learned Athenian, who had travelled into Egypt, and received ſatisfactory information concerning it. Briefly then, it was indebted for it's beginning to the animal hieroglyphics, intended to expreſs the hiſtories and powers of their ancient deified heroes. Theſe

* See Vol. II. Letter LXXV.

pictured

pictured ſymbols, which were emblematical of their characters, both before and after the apotheoſis, being changed into living ones, that devotion, which was deſigned to be conveyed through the medium of the figure or animal to the God, was at laſt paid ultimately to the animal. From hero-worſhip is derived an infinite variety of legends and fables, to diſguiſe the real objects of it; for when men began to reaſon on theſe points, and applied their natural underſtandings to examine matters of religion, they thought it abſurd to deify their own frail and imperfect ſpecies. The prieſts (who were originally appointed by the legiſlators of governments and commonwealths to ſerve many purpoſes of uſe to ſociety) ſounded an alarm at theſe enquiries, which ſtruck at the moſt lucrative part of ſuperſtition. This occaſioned their pretending, that the greater hero-Gods were expreſſive of the ſeveral attributes of the firſt cauſe. And in Ægypt particularly, they invented the phyſical mythology, and new allegorical ceremonies, to conceal the foibles and moral blemiſhes recorded in the hiſtories of their heroes and tutelary deities. "Theſe accounts, returned I, are very plauſible, and coincide nearly with what I have heard. But give me leave to ask your thoughts on the diſpute ſo much agitated between the Greeks and Ægyptians, whether Greece borrowed Gods from Ægypt, or Ægypt from her." Several treatiſes have been written on both ſides, and copies of them have been tranſmitted to the learned in both nations. EURYDAMAS, the chief prieſt in the temple at Eleuſis, has gained great credit by his performance in defence of the Grecian claims. I am told a prieſt of Heliopolis has lately writ an anſwer to him." "It

"It is a diſpute, replied the philoſopher, in which no man of ſenſe intereſts himſelf, and which concerns only thoſe formal antiquaries, who lay much weight on points of imaginary moment. To me it ſeems wrapt up in impenetrable darkneſs; and to this the forgeries produced on both ſides have not a little contributed. If I have any opinion on the ſubject, it is this: ſince it is generally allowed, that Ægyptian colonies ſettled here, I think it likely, that the ſcience of religious rites, and the characters of heroes fit to be made Gods, with the names proper to be given them, were brought from thence, and applied to perſons in our own country. Many reaſons might be offered in ſupport of this ſentiment; but I wave going into a detail of them. And thus you have my thoughts on the origin and progreſs of idolatry, a ſubject, the curioſity of which is inferior to nothing but it's importance. I have delivered myſelf openly to you, who are my friend; as ſome would ſay, *dogmatically*, and not after the manner of thoſe cautious converſations, which I hold in public with the ſophiſts.

If you would know, why I profeſs not theſe things, and undeceive mankind; I anſwer, it is againſt my principles to diſturb the religion of my country. Wiſe men in every age are acquainted with all, that I have communicated to you; and when they meet with a fair opportunity to work, or a fair diſpoſition in their neighbours to bear a reformation, let them zealouſly endeavour to effect it; but gradually, and not at once; but gently and not forcibly. Let them addreſs their arguments to the reaſon, without uſing ſuch methods of

conviction, as may ſtir their own paſſions, or excite the ſtubbornneſs of mankind." Thus SOCRATES diſcourſed, while I was loſt in admiration of him.

C.

LETTER CVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

I Have received a letter from HYDASPES the chamberlain, which contains the melancholy news of MEGABYZUS's death, and ſome friendly cautions with regard to my own ſafety, now endangered by the intrigues of my powerful enemies. Leſs ſolicitous for my private welfare than that of Perſia, I poured out my ſupplications to OROMASDES, that he would not permit the deteſted author of ill to bring any farther misfortunes on the empire, when he ought to be ſatisfied with having deprived ARTAXERXES of his wiſeſt counſellor. I had ſcarce time to recover myſelf from the impreſſion, which this fatal event made upon me, when a bark ſent expreſly from Epheſus brought me a diſpatch, ſigned with the king's own hand, and ſealed with the royal ſignet, which enjoins me immediately to repair to Thebes, to foment the practices of the Median faction in that city. I own to thee, noble ſcribe, I was not leſs ſurprized at the order itſelf, than the manner of wording it, and my own deſignation for the buſineſs. The Thebans have been reputed by the moſt underſtanding people here, to have been, ever ſince the change in their government after the defeat of MARDONIUS, firmly attached to the Lacedæmonians, who have

have laid them under ſtricter ties by ſacrificing Platea laſt year to their reſentment. The king's letter is drawn in ſhort and general terms, giving me no particular directions to what perſons I am to apply, or what offers I am to make thoſe, who ſhall be ready to aſſiſt me. It is likewiſe unaccompanied with any letter or explanation from the miniſters, as thou knoweſt is conſtantly practiſed in a buſineſs of this nicety and importance. All theſe circumſtances induce me to think, not only that thou wert unacquainted with it, but that the whole is a contrivance of my enemies to remove me from a place, where a five year's reſidence enables me to perform the duties of my ſtation, to another, where I have no correſpondence, and can hope for no ſucceſs. But as I ſhall always eſteem the king's orders, however obtained, too ſacred for me his poor ſlave to diſpute, I ſhall take a journey to Thebes in the retinue of an Athenian agent, who is ſent thither to treat of an exchange of priſoners. From thence you may expect to hear of me. In the mean time I preſume to hope, that under the ſhadow of thy protection, I may find a ſecure ſhelter from the calumnies of my oppoſers.

ATHENIAN NEWS.

The plague is renewed at Athens, and ſpreads daily. The Peloponneſian forces aſſembled at Corinth under AGIS king of Sparta, but were prevented from invading Attica by the earthquakes, which have happened there, as well as in ſeveral parts of Eubœa and Bœotia. In this city, part of the fortifications, and ſome public buildings, particularly

particularly the prytaneum, were thrown down by the violence of the ſhocks. Two thouſand Athenians in ſixty gallies commanded by NICIAS, after making an unſucceſsful deſcent in the iſland MELOS, paſſed over to Oropus, and advanced to Tanagrum in Bœotia, where receiving a reinforcement out of Athens, they defeated the natives, and ſet up a trophy.

P.

LETTER CVII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Bubaſtus.

HERODOTUS has accompanied me through the Delta; for having viſited Ægypt a ſecond time, he now is taking another journey into the eaſt, in order to complete that noble work, which was read with applauſe at Athens ſome years ago; and to collect materials for a particular hiſtory of Aſſyria and Babylon, which the world may one day expect from him. There is a city of ancient fame in Paleſtine, lately rebuilt by the favour of our auguſt monarch, after it had lain in ruins for ſeveral years from it's deſtruction under the later Aſſyrian kings, which he deſigns to ſee in his way.

In our return from the pyramids, we came directly to Sais, a place of ſuch fame and antiquity, that no curious traveller would omit ſeeing it. The night we arrived there, the grand feſtival of the lighting of lamps was ſolemnized, which is obſerved after a peculiar manner. All the houſes throughout the town of Sais are illuminated with rows of lamps ſet round the windows

on

on the outſide; at which time a great ſacrifice is performed to the guardian Deity of the place, to which as many, as can conveniently, reſort from all parts of Ægypt. But thoſe, who cannot be preſent there at the celebration of it, neglect not, wherever they are, to ſolemnize the night, and to ſet out lights before their houſes. By this means, not only the town of Sais, but the whole country of Ægypt is illuminated on that night. The Deity, in honour of whom the feſtival is kept, is called by the Greeks, MINERVA; but, if I conjecture right, with the Ægyptians is no other than their ISIS, who, as I have elſewhere hinted to you, is made univerſal nature, though differently ſpecified, and partially conſidered, upon different occaſions, under the ſeveral powers and attributes, which the Greeks aſcribe to their reſpective divinities. The uſe of lamps and torches both in religious worſhip, and for the purpoſes of common life, were (the Ægyptians ſay) originally their invention, and firſt received from them. But however that be, it is certain, they had them very anciently in their religious revels and ceremonies; and the application of them to the myſteries of their worſhip, among other divine ſymbols, has rendered the ſymbol itſelf ſo ſacred in the hyeroglyphics, that a lamp in that picture-character implies the whole myſtery of the Ægyptian religion. From the uſe of torches and lamps, thus introduced into their religious ceremonies, came the practice of burning them at the ſhrines of illuſtrious perſonages, whom the paſſionate devotion of their friends deſired to honour as divinities, and to rank among ſuperior natures; of the antiquity of which cuſtom

ſtom a remarkable monument remains in Sais to this day. MERCHERINUS, the 7th king of the Memphite dynaſty, to ſooth his grief for the loſs of an only daughter, erected for her a magnificent repoſitory adjoining to his palace, and ordered a caſe of wood to be made in the ſhape of an heifer, richly overlaid with gold, to incloſe her remains; intending thereby, that divine honours ſhould be paid to her memory, and to graft her worſhip upon the reigning ſuperſtition of Ægypt. The heifer is as large as the life, in a kneeling poſture, and covered with a ſcarlet pall. Between the horns is ſet a circle of gold reſembling the rays of the ſun. He appointed a certain number of prieſts to burn incenſe before it in the day time, and to light up lamps round the chamber in the night, and ſettled a ſtipend upon them to continue the ceremony for ever. They conſtantly once a year bring out the heifer into the open air, after the celebration of certain rites, which may be myſterious, but ſeem highly abſurd in the vulgar account. For in theſe rites they are ſaid to ſcourge a certain Deity, whoſe name the profane are not to know. The remains of the ancient palace at Sais are magnificent. The temple of the Goddeſs, whom the Greeks call Minerva, contains the ſepulchres of thoſe ancient kings, that were natives of the Saite nome. In the body of this temple is a magnificent ſtone chamber, the columns of which are carved in imitation of palm trees. Here are ſeen ſeveral of thoſe obelisks, which were the ancient repreſentations of the celeſtial divinities; and near to them is a ſtone baſon or lake; the workmanſhip of which is much admired. An inſcription on the pave-

ment

ment of this temple countenances the opinion I have advanced, that the Deity of the place is ISIS. The inſcription runs thus: "I am all, that has been, that is, and that ſhall be; and none among mortals has hitherto taken off my veil." AMASIS, who ſubdued Apries, the laſt of the lineage of the Memphite kings, raiſed a portico to this building, which for it's height and dimenſions, and the largeneſs of the ſtones, that compoſe it, exceeds every thing of that kind in Ægypt. He placed about it Coloſſes and Sphinxes of a prodigious ſize. A little above the town is a grove called the ſanctuary of OSIRIS, where the Saites maintain his ſepulchre to have been.

We paſſed from Sais to Bubaſtus, which is near the full extent of the Delta, part of the way by land, and part through the cuts, that communicate between the ſeveral channels of the Nile. It were endleſs to deſcribe to thee, CLEANDER, the beauty and richneſs of the country; or to enumerate the many ancient cities and towns, which preſented themſelves to our notice in the whole way. But indeed, though all beſpeak the magnificence and glory of this ancient kingdom, I know not any, that affords a ſight more pleaſing than the city, where I now am. It is ſituate, where the Bubaſtic branch of the Nile ſeparates into two channels; one of which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at the Tanitic, the other at the Peluſiac mouth. Theſe ſtreams form a perfect peninſula, in which ſtands the temple of Bubaſtis; the city itſelf lying part between theſe ſtreams, and part ſcattered on the two oppoſite ſides of the Nile beyond where the ſtreams divide. The ground on all

ſides, whereon the buildings of the city are erected, was raiſed by SESOSTRIS, and afterwards by the Æthiopian king to a greater height than any other town in Ægypt. The peninſula only with the town remains on the ſame level it always was, and is joined by a narrow iſthmus to the land, along which is a viſta of thick trees of the talleſt growth continued for the length of three ſtadiums into the town, and leading through the forum up an aſcent to the temple of Mercury. The temple of Bubaſtis, in length and breadth a ſtadium, is likewiſe encompaſſed with a thick grove, that caſts a delightful ſhade, and is reflected on the water. It has a ſtately portico thirty cubits in height, upon which are figures and bas reliefs of ſix cubits; and round the extremities of the iſland runs a parapet of ſtone, adorned with much curious ſculpture. The temple, with the plantations about it, lying thus in the middle of the town, and ſurrounded with the water, has a moſt beautiful effect, as you look down upon it from the city, on every ſide. The goddeſs BUBASTIS is by the Greeks called DIANA, but is in reality ISIS, if one may regard the ancient inſcription upon her pillar at Nyſa in Arabia. A little above the town begins that famous cut, which was intended for a communication between the Nile, and the Red Sea. The digging of it was firſt attempted by NECO the ſon of PSAMMETICHUS, and twelve thouſand men periſhed in the work. DARIUS, after him, made a great progreſs with better ſucceſs, but without completing it; diſcouraged, as the tradition goes, by the report of his ſurveyors, who apprehended it would, when finiſhed, let in the ſea upon the lower

lower Ægypt, the level of the Arabian gulf being, as they thought, higher than the Delta. The Ægyptians ſolemnize their religious revels at moſt of their towns through the Delta ſeveral times in the year. But thoſe are moſt frequented, which attend the great ſacrifices performed at Bubaſtus. Great numbers of both ſexes come down the Nile at theſe times in boats together; and the men and women, beſides children, that are brought to Bubaſtus on occaſion of theſe ſolemnities, are computed by the inhabitants to be ſeldom fewer than ſeventy thouſand. Their muſic all the way is a ſtrange diſſonance of flutes, crotala, bad voices, and clapping of hands. At every town by the water ſide they ſtand up to the ſhore, to give the women in the boats an opportunity of calling out to thoſe at land, who never are at a loſs to anſwer them in the peculiar ribaldry of their water-language. While ſome of the women are engaged in this ſcurrilous diverſion, the reſt are dancing, or making ridiculous geſtures.

Strange it is, CLEANDER, and unaccountable, that ſuch mean buffooneries ſhould ever be miſtaken for religious rites, or made preparative to the celebration of one of their greateſt feſtivals. But it has been the policy of our government never to interfere with ſuch national extravagancies, as are merely adapted to the genius of the vulgar. For as theſe inſtitutions fall in with the natural bent of the common people, at the ſame time that they have the ſanction of religious ceremonies, there is nothing they would with greater difficulty give up. The Ægyptian prieſts could not have taken a ſurer method for eſtabliſhing their own authority,

than by accommodating the national rites to that ſtrong propenſion to farcical pomps and revels, which no where prevails more among the common ſort, than in Ægypt. The people thus gratified and amuſed, according to their own ſenſe of things, and indulged in all their groſſeſt prejudices, preſume not to arraign the ſuperior wiſdom of their teachers, but aſſent with an implicit reverence to their dictates.

I ſhall in a very few days ſet ſail from Peluſium. HERODOTUS will part from me at Magdolum to paſs over mount Caſius, and by the lake Serbon into Paleſtine. That inquiſitive traveller has taken abundant pains to examine into the learning of the Ægyptian prieſts, and ſift out all the recondite doctrines of their religion; yet, after all, he has cauſe to complain of their myſterious reſervedneſs. It is diſcouraging enough, I have often heard him ſay, to an accurate hiſtorian, who is to treat of their religious ceremonies, that he muſt, in many things, either affect the ſame myſterious ſecrecy himſelf, or appear to poſterity to have been a collector of ſenſeleſs and ridiculous fables. Adieu. L.

LETTER CVIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Thebes.

I Have been arrived ſome days, noble ſcribe, in this city; and whilſt CRITIAS, the Athenian agent, whom I accompanied, was employed in negotiating an exchange of priſoners, I endeavoured to procure the intelligence of the general diſpoſition of the ſtate, and the reliance, which can be made on the deſcendants of

of thoſe citizens, who were formerly in the Perſian intereſt. My enquiry was much furthered by CRATIPPUS, who has lately removed hither from Sparta, in order to penetrate to the bottom of an intrigue, which is carrying on between Thebes and Corinth. I leave his own letters on that affair to ſpeak his vigilance and induſtry; but I ought in juſtice to myſelf to add, that he concurs with me in opinion, that my orders were grounded on falſe information. Thou wilt be able to judge, how impracticable it would be to attempt any change of government here, when I tell thee, that the management of affairs is wholly in the hands of the Lacedæmonian faction. The ſenate is compoſed of their creatures; the Polemarchs, or chief magiſtrates of the city, who are choſen annually, and the Bœotarchs or governors of Bœotia, over which the Thebans claim a general jurisdiction, are in the ſame intereſt; and the better to curb any attempts in favour either of Athens or Perſia, a ſtrong garriſon is always kept up in the Cadmèa. The Lacedæmonians have much gained upon the affections of this people, by the ſeverities, which for their ſakes were inflicted upon the Plateans. Beſides they are of all the Græcians the moſt difficult to be forced out of any intereſt and alliances, in which they have been long engaged. With regard to the remains of the Median faction, which in the king's letter are repreſented as conſiderable both for their weight and number, it is a fact well known here, that the chiefs amongſt them were delivered up by the Thebans to PAUSANIAS, the Spartan general, who put them to death at Corinth, that the Greeks might from

their example be warned, what puniſhment thoſe were to expect, who deſerted the common intereſt of their county to join with a foreign invader. This had the deſired effect; and the deſcendants of ARTAGINUS and TIMAGENES are ſo far from having any inclination to revenge the death of their anceſtors, that, had I applied to them, they would in all probability have delivered me up to the magiſtrates. As I therefore imagine, it cannot be the intention of my royal maſter, that I ſhould expoſe myſelf to danger, without any proſpect of doing him ſervice, I ſuſpend the execution of my orders, till I receive thy anſwer, which I ſhall expect in this city; for the increaſe of the plague at Athens renders my removal thither extremely hazardous. If the ſupreme council think my further reſidence here unneceſſary, I deſire leave to take a progreſs to the celebrated temple at Delphi.

The magiſtrates of Thebes have received an expreſs, with an account of the ill ſucceſs of DEMOSTHENES the Athenian againſt the Ætolians. That general had ſome ſucceſs on his firſt invaſion of their country; but the natives having aſſembled their forces, attacked his army in a foreſt ſurrounded by mountains, (the paſſes of which they had ſeized,) and gave it a total defeat.

Potent lord, it is from thee I expect my chief ſupport under the uneaſy ſtate of mind, to which the calumnies of my enemies have reduced me. The effects of their malice, in the objections they make to my conduct, are as weak, as their malice it ſelf is ſtrong. When they reproach me with having made no friends to Perſia, do they conſider, that for me to have concerned myſelf

myſelf in practices of that nature, without particular inſtructions, would have been highly unwarrantable, and only brought ruin on my own head from all quarters, without advancing in one point the intereſt of ARTAXERXES? 'Tis even more than probable, that thoſe, who now blame me for inactivity, would then have been as liberal of their cenſures againſt my intermeddling without orders, and have exerted their beſt endeavours to procure a diſavowal of my conduct. When they accuſe me of converſing only with the friends to peace, they ſhew their utter ignorance of my courſe of life at Athens; elſe they would know, that I have acquaintance enough in both parties to diſcover the ſecrets of each; and that I form my accounts impartially from their different repreſentations.

If PHILEMON honors me with his friendſhip, and NICIAS condeſcends to take a frugal meal at my houſe, I have received civilities on the other hand from DEMOSTHENES and EPIGENES; and not long before I left Athens, CLEON ſent to aſſure me upon occaſion of ſome buſineſs, which I offered to tranſact for him at Epheſus, that he harbored no malice againſt me for what happened laſt year in relation to the Iambics *. It was that unlucky affair, I am convinced, which gave a colour to the charge againſt me of intermixing in the cabals of NICIAS's faction. But if thou can'ſt excuſe an imprudence, which the warmth of wine and jollity gave riſe to, I can aſſure thee upon the forfeiture of thy patronage, which I prefer far beyond any intereſt or concern of my own, that I will religiouſly avoid

* Vol. II. p. 203.

making myſelf obnoxious to any party for the future, except ſuch as the king's ſervice ſhall at any time oblige me to act againſt. I have troubled thee thus far out of that regard, which every man owes to his reputation; for otherwiſe I deſire not to be made the object of court intrigue. Suffer me to retire in peace to my paternal farm in the ſhady vale near the temple of the Epheſian DIANA; or quit the tumultuous forum of Athens for the ſolitary groves of the Bactrian Magi. Wrapt in their thickeſt ſhades, I may forget the diſtracting cares of life, and the perplexities of buſineſs. The change will not only be for my quiet, but advantage; here I may learn to be an abler miniſter, but there to be a better man. Adieu.

The 20th of the month Munychion.

P.

LETTER CIX.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

THE inſolence of the Greeks is inexcuſable, CLEANDER. If they enjoy advantages peculiar to themſelves, this ſhould not be matter of triumph, ſince they cannot be aſſured of their continuance. How ſpeciouſly was the liberty of Perſia guarded by the wiſeſt laws, and ſevereſt diſcipline, when the eſtabliſhment ſuffered an unavoidable revolution to it's diſadvantage? CYRUS, the worthieſt of all princes, who had been educated in the ſchools of juſtice and moderation, was the neceſſary cauſe of this change. His great mind could

could never meditate the oppreſſion of his country, though the acceſſion of Media by inheritance, a vaſt kingdom, under his abſolute ſway, and the additional conquered provinces, had ſufficiently enabled him to compaſs it. This accumulated power however devolved to a leſs worthy ſucceſſor; and thou knoweſt the ſequel.

Liberty, which is the ſecure enjoyment of natural rights under the ſalutary reſtrictions of law, was long the inheritance of the Perſians. The prince, the ſatraps, and the people were in ſubordination one to another; but their dependance was ſolely on the laws, to which they owed a common obedience. The prince was ſupreme, and enjoyed the diſtinguiſhing marks of royalty; but in his youth he was not exempt from the rigorous diſcipline of a Perſian education. In the reſt of the conſtitution (which is peculiar to Perſia) the rank of the citizens was determined ordinarily by their years; and the duties, privileges, and honors of the ſtate were adapted to the particular ſtages of youth, manhood, and old-age: but the greateſt ſhare of dignity and power was reſerved for the laſt, to crown thoſe, who had ſhewn a decent compliance with the laws, in a regular and laudable conduct through the former. The next honorable rank was manhood, to which the citizens were admitted, if they had paſſed their youth in obedience, military exerciſes, and honeſty. Thus recommended, being arrived at maturity of ſtrength and judgment, they were admitted into active life, pleaded as advocates, or preſided as judges; had the charge of the revenue, or employments of diſtinction amongſt the ſoldiery; or bore arms in the loweſt capacity, as the ſtate required,

required, according to the determination of the aged, who having paſſed thoſe offices with reputation themſelves, governed the inferior orders, and regulated them by their counſels. Thus was every one ingaged to ſubmiſſion, and obedience to the laws, by the hopes of arriving one day at the adminiſtration of them. This expectation kept the eager ambition of youth, and the cooler, but no leſs dangerous, deſigns of manhood, in proper bounds, till age admitted them with ſafety to a truſt, for which their habitual virtue and experience qualified them. Thus private obedience to legal authority was eaſily kept up, which is the great bulwark of publick liberty, and which free ſtates find much difficulty in maintaining; becauſe the reſtraint of it is miſtaken for ſlavery by the injudicious multitude, who delight in tumult and irregularity, as certain indications of freedom.

This frame of government our countrymen had ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied with, that they never ſhewed any diſpoſition to innovate, but rather to confirm and perpetuate it. To this end their wiſdom was extraordinary and unparalleled; they had long known the neceſſity there was of forming ſoldiers by a regular education; and therefore they had trained up their children from their infancy in hardineſs, exerciſe, and coarſe diet ſparingly dealt to them, which their keen appetite and ready digeſtion converted into nutriment, leaving no ſuperfluity for noxious humours: they were ſo far from needing the evacuations of phyſic, that thoſe of nature were not frequent. They never tried the viciſſitudes of ſwoln bodies and emaciating diſeaſes; their nerves

nerves were never high ſtrained by an heated blood, nor relaxed by indolence, but were gradually confirmed in that ſtate, which is beſt ſuited to the operations the body, and moſt helpful to thoſe of this mind. The Perſians had uſed themſelves to the method of diſciplining the youth for war; and the ſame wiſdom ſuggeſted to them, that it would require no leſs care to train them up for ſociety and the duties of peace. We think it prepoſterous, ſaid they, to collect a large body of men and ſend them out to fight our battles, without regard to previous diſcipline. How then can we expect, that every thing, that bears the form of a man, ſhould be fitted for the manifold duties of ſociety? If we would ſecure our government, we muſt encourage the growth of moderation and juſtice amongſt the citizens; which having taken deep root, will not eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be eradicated by thoſe foul uſurpers, avarice, cruelty, and ambition; which firſt make themſelves maſters of the human mind, and then excite it to thoſe extravagancies, that lay waſte the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms.

An inſtitution of the youth in ſocial qualifications was therefore agreed upon: but the parent was thought an improper perſon to be intruſted with it, leſt the children might receive any wrong bias from his ſentiments, his example, or his partial regard for them. Public ſchools were appointed; and the wiſeſt of the Magi to preſide and inſtruct the young Perſian, not indeed in muſic, in rhetoric, and the fictions of poets, but the ſimple qualifications of ſpeaking truth, and practiſing juſtice; where they were taught, that veracity was always

ways graceful, however unadorned; and learn'd as much to fear the practice of fraud, as the young Spartan the diſcovery of it. Their acuteneſs was nevertheleſs employed, though not in acting, yet in tracing out falſhood and treachery: for this purpoſe intricate caſes were deviſed by their maſters, which they were obliged to unravel, and diſcloſe all the latent fallacy, that might ſcreen an offender, or prejudice the innocent; and to ſhew the due merits of each party in the caſe propoſed.

All the little differences and quarrels, that ariſe among playfellows, were examined into, and decided by the ſtricteſt rules and forms of juſtice, where they had frequent occaſion to act the part of judge, accuſer, and criminal, under the inſpection of a maſter, who never failed to put the ſentence in execution, if juſt; if not, to puniſh the judge for his ignorance or partiality. Thus were they always ready to become any ſtation in the community, that of a judicious magiſtrate, an honeſt and diſcerning advocate, an able governor, or an obedient inoffenſive citizen. Thus had they learn'd the ſocial duties, before they had need of them; for it was thought more ſalutary, that the manly carriage ſhould make ſome incroachments on youth, than that there ſhould be any danger, by the neglect of ſuch diſcipline, that the follies of youth ſhould be propagated into manhood, the public aſſemblies be interrupted with petulancy, and miſguided by ill-informed judgments; or the lives and valuable privileges of a people become the ſport of a boyiſh levity.

Thus

Thus the baſis of our eſtabliſhment was the virtue of the citizens; a more durable and ſubſtantial one than can be ſupplied by all the arts of policy, which ſometimes pretend to ſeparate the publick good from honeſty, it's natural ally and ſupport, or make uſe of a counterfeit appearance of her. But where ſhe reſides, ſhe not only guards the common liberty, but enlarges the happineſs of each individual; ſhe ſtrengthens all ties both natural and ſocial; ſhe cements families; preſerves the filial and conjugal affection pure; ſweetens converſe with humanity; heightens acquaintance into friendſhip, and ſets no bounds to the exerciſe of benevolence. The allies of a virtuous nation can ſteadily rely on it's fidelity, and it's enemies are afraid of the vengeance of a people, who are lovers of juſtice, and are always kindled with indignation and reſentment at the breach of it.

H.

LETTER CX.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

I Doubt, whether in the various ſtates of Greece you will find one government of a more plauſible frame than that I have deſcribed, or more founded in nature. For nature has laid down a plan for us in moſt things; and the nearer approaches we make to her, the more we advance toward perfection in our undertaking. Now the plan, which nature has given us for government, is a ſingle family; which is indeed a little natural kingdom; and a kingdom of the greateſt

extent can be looked upon as no other than a large artificial family. And it is very eaſy to obſerve, that the ancient Perſian government in it's parts and oeconomy bore a very near reſemblance to this original pattern. Perhaps you will be ſurpriſed, that our unpoliſhed anceſtors, who had neither arts nor literature amongſt them, and were ſatisfied with the ſcanty products of Perſia, which ſcarce afforded them food and a covering to their bodies, ſhould have been ſo ſucceſsful in their polity. Perhaps their being uncivilized is the very reaſon of it; and their utter ignorance in the refinements of politics made them more attentive to nature. You know, tradition informs us, that in the early ages of the world each family was a ſort of independent community; and the head of it exerciſed a princely juriſdiction over all the branches. We will ſuppoſe then, that a number of theſe ſmall princes with paternal power are aſſembled together, with deſign to agree upon terms of community; perhaps on the ſummit of a hill, in token of their eminence, whilſt their numerous progeny expected below the iſſue of their counſels. I will not take upon me to relate the debates, which aroſe in the venerable aſſembly; but it is by no means difficult to find out the reſult of them. They perceived there was little occaſion for any thing new, toward forming a community, beſides living together. It was agreed, that the fathers of families ſhould retain the ſame authority over, and concern for, the whole, which each had before in his reſpective family; that the younger men ſhould continue to be active and obedient in executing the commands of the elder, whether in peace or war;

war; and that the education of children ſhould now be their joint care, which hitherto had employed them ſeparately. Their children were ready to enter into ſociety, upon the advice of their parents; for they thought their welfare could not be more ſafely lodged than in ſuch hands. The ties of their obedience immediately became different. It was gratitude and filial duty (the bonds of nature) which before obliged them; but the obligations, they then ſubmitted to, were more than nature had enjoined, and therefore they rightly expected terms for their ſubmiſſion. The authority of the natural parent was unlimited, becauſe his affection for his iſſue was imagined ſo likewiſe; but the artificial parent being more likely to deviate from juſtice, mutual conditions were ſettled, and laws obligatory on both ſides. Here you ſee the great marks and outlines of our ancient government in a very ſmall compaſs; and all ſubſequent and future regulations were no more than methods uſed for the better eſtabliſhing this form.

Though I aſcribe much to the wiſdom of our anceſtors, I will not deny, that there was another cauſe, which greatly contributed to the peace and continuation of our empire; for the Perſians not having then corrupted the traditions they had received from a diſtant but unknown origin, believed, that OROMASDES was a lover of peace and order through all his works, which in awe of him they induſtriouſly cultivated and maintained. They knew, that commotions and tumult were the delight of ARIMANIUS; and abhorred being the inſtruments of his will, who had introduced diſcord into paradiſe itſelf, and deformed the creation;

creation; a work of ſuch excellency, that the Almighty did not produce it inſtantaneouſly, but in ſix ſucceſſive parts, that the everlaſting genii, the ſatraps of his heavenly court, might contemplate it's riſing beauty, and adore the author! Theſe religious ſentiments, which dawned upon us at the coming of KEYOMAR, that ancient prophet, were more clearly opened by the divine inſtructions of ZERVAN, and the Eternal Wiſdom of OUSHANG ‡, till ZURDUSHT's irreſiſtible beams diſperſed all remains of darkneſs*.

H.

LETTER CXI.

GOBYRAS to CLEANDER. From Ecbatana.

IT is natural for any one, whoſe reputation is attacked by injurious calumnies, and whoſe warmth is heightened by a conſciouſneſs of innocence, to lye under a perpetual uneaſineſs of mind, till his honor is cleared, and his conduct juſtified. This makes me leſs ſurprized at thoſe expreſſions of deſpondency and reſentment, which have occurred in thy late diſpatches. From the firſt intimation I received of the ill humor fomented againſt thee by the artifices of ſome men, and the weakneſs of others, I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to trace it to the ſource; and after diſcovering the cauſes, to remove the effects of it. I found the treaſu-

‡ A book of the higheſt authority among the followers of the Magi.

* The reader will find, that in this and the other letters, where the Perſian religion is treated of, the ſentiments are exactly agreeable to Dr. Hyde's account of it.

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rer grievouſly offended, that thou haſt made no application to him in the courſe of thy employment; and for that reaſon tranſmitting thy appointments with a ſparing hand. His enterpriſing genius, which all along declared itſelf for an immediate imbarking in the war, was of courſe oppoſed to the calmer and more conſiderate meaſures of MEGABYZUS and myſelf. As he obſerved, thy letters afforded no grounds to his extravagant projects, he fell in the more readily with the informations of TIMOCLES, the Eubœan. Pleaſed with the flattering diſcourſes of that vain rhetorician, and elated by the applauſe, which he heard was given to his counſels by the younger ſatraps, and officers of the army, he procured that letter, which ſent thee to Thebes, whilſt I was employed in ſettling the affairs of my deceaſed friend, MEGABYZUS. At the ſame time ſo certain was he of the ſucceſs of his Theban alliance, or perhaps ſo bent on thy ruin, if it miſcarried, that he propoſed to remove thee from Athens, aſſerting there were unanſwerable objections to thy behaviour there; and that TIMOCLES ſhould be ordered to ſupply thy place. The king abſolutely refuſed to conſent to this alteration, and took frequent opportunities to commend thy ſervices publickly. Soon after arrived thy letter, which gave a very clear and ingenuous relation of the ſtate of Thebes, confirmed by the diſpatches we received at the ſame time from CRATIPPUS. TERIBAZUS was then obliged, though with reluctance, to confeſs he had been miſtaken in the advice, which occaſioned the king's letter; and, in order to caſt the blame from himſelf, accuſed TIMOCLES of

deceiving him, who, he ſaid, ought to be well acquainted with thoſe parts of Greece. The Eubœan was ſummoned before the council of ſeven; but he found means to make his eſcape; and it is ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the accuſation and the eſcape had their riſe from the the ſame quarter. Thou haſt reaſon to be ſatisfied with the ſhame, which overwhelms thy enemies, after the defeat of all their ſchemes; and thy credit with the king and miniſtry is more eſtabliſhed by this fruitleſs attack, than if it had never been put to a trial. How far I ingaged in your ſupport, I leave others to inform you; but it would be injuſtice to the generous friendſhip of HYDASPES and INTAPHERNES, not to aſſure you, that, had their own honour or ſafety been concerned, they could not have exerted themſelves with more zeal and aſſiduity than they did. The king himſelf told me, when I obtained his leave for your Delphic journey, that no diſguſt of any of his miniſters ſhould leſſen his regard for your merit; that the punctual payment of your appointments ſhould be his particular care: "and, continued our gracious maſter, I do not wonder this Theban buſineſs has given CLEANDER uneaſineſs. I too eaſily believed what carried a ſpecious appearance; but though my ſervants have ſometimes deceived me, they never yet had the art to make me perſiſt in my error, in order to ſcreen their own."

APOLLONIDES the phyſician was condemned to the croſs, and executed juſt before we left Suſa. Thou knoweſt, that his crime, for the ſake of the perſon concerned, muſt be lightly touched. ZOPYRUS the youngeſt

youngeſt ſon of MEGABYZUS has left the court by night; and 'tis not yet known, whither he is gone. He deſired to be made governor of Damaſcus; which being refuſed him on account of his youth and inexperience, though with a promiſe of future favour, he ſaid with great warmth, that this diſappointment, and his mother's guilt, rendered it impoſſible for him to appear at court with honour.

OXYATHRES the Mede, after having been obliged to leave Scythia by the king, who at preſent ſits upon that throne, as I gave thee an account in my diſpatches laſt year *, has ſince wandered in diſguiſe through the provinces; and though we had frequent traces of him, he made ſo ſhort a ſtay in every place he came to, and took ſuch precautions to conceal himſelf, that we could never lay hold of his perſon till very lately, when he was ſeized in paſſing through the Upper Egypt by PHARNACES the governor of Thebes. From ſeveral informations, which I have received concerning him, there are grounds to believe, that he was going to join AMYRTEUS in the fens, and was projecting great deſigns of bringing the Lybians a ſecond time into Egypt. He found means to deſtroy what papers he had about him, before he was ſecured; but very large ſums of money were ſeized in his baggage, which were diſtributed amongſt thoſe, who were inſtrumental in apprehending him.

Soon after he was taken, he wrote a letter to the king, offering, if his life might be ſpared, to make an exact and ſincere diſcovery of all the practices, in which he

* Vide Vol. II. p. 236.

had been engaged, and of the perſons, with whom he had correſponded; accompanied with ſtrong expreſſions of remorſe for his paſt conduct, and aſſurances of an inviolable fidelity for the future. The king was pleaſed to refer the whole affair to his council of ſeven, and to be preſent himſelf, when it was debated; as indeed it was very fully.

We conſidered, that OXYATHRES had been manifeſtly concerned in two deſigns of a very high and dangerous nature. The guilt of the firſt indeed conſiſted chiefly in holding licentious and ſeditious diſcourſes; but in caſe any ſiniſter event had happened to the empire, or the king, there is no queſtion but a formed conſpiracy had broken out.

The ſecond was nothing leſs than promoting the revolt of ARIAZUS, and the junction of the Scythian forces with his.

There were likewiſe ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect, that his views, at the time of his being ſeized, were full as pernicious and diſloyal as ever. And it was very remarkable, that during this long courſe of treaſonable practices, he had never once made application for pardon, or ſhewed the leaſt deſire of returning to his duty, till the moment that his life was in the power of a juſtly exaſperated monarch.

As to the diſcoveries, which he was in a capacity of making, it was our opinion, that we knew enough of his intrigues already for any advantage, that could redound to the king and his government, by the prevention, or defeat of them; and the being acquainted with

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the minuter circumſtances, and the names of more perſons, who had engag'd in ſuch criminal deſigns, might tend to open a ſcene, which the tranquillity of the empire would require, and the humane diſpoſition of ARTAXERXES would rather chooſe, not to be diſcloſed. For theſe reaſons we concluded almoſt unanimouſly, that he was no fit object of the royal favour; and accordingly orders for putting him to death were ſent to PHARNACES with ſuch diſpatch and ſecrecy, that the advice of his being executed reached this place almoſt before his condemnation was known, and at once put an end to all thoſe cabals and interceſſions, which were forming by his relations, (who are of the firſt quality in the province of Media) to ſave him.

I have it in charge to communicate to thee the reſult of a council held this night in ARTAXERXES's apartments. It was reſolved unanimouſly, that conſidering the events of war, that may oblige the king to take part very ſoon in the Grecian quarrels, orders ſhould be ſent to the governors of Aſia Minor to keep in readineſs againſt next year a body of 60,000 men, to march at the firſt warning; and likewiſe to the præfects of Phœnicia and Cyprus, to fit out a fleet of 80 galleys, with a proportionable number of ſeamen. We doubt not but the news of thoſe preparations will ſtrike the Greeks with aſtoniſhment; but they are ſolely intended to put our empire in a condition of taking ſuch a part in the affairs of it's neighbours, as may be ſuitable to it's wealth and greatneſs. Farewel.

P.

LETTER CXII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

HERODOTUS put into my hands the other day a very extraordinary and remarkable piece of hiſtory, which the prieſts of Memphis had given him among the memoirs, which they had ſelected for his uſe out of their archives. The character of HAZIA affords an example of many excellencies, which even the Athenian ladies might copy with great advantage to their conduct.

The STORY of HAZIA.

SESOSTRIS, willing to ſhew his ſubjects, how far he had extended his conqueſts, brought with him into Egypt numerous families of the eaſt, inſtructed in the righteous doctrines of KEYOMAR. Amongſt theſe was the houſe of BESACH, beloved for his juſtice and ſtrict piety, and in the eſteem of men moſt worthy the protection of heaven. But he was not exempt from the common calamity; he was led away captive with his family, which he had the mortification, before he reach'd Memphis, to ſee reduced to his daughter, HAZIA, who was too young to be affected with her miſfortunes, and himſelf, whoſe wiſdom and experience taught him to ſubmit to them. His two ſons, who were in the vigour of youth, and had been train'd up to virtue and courage, had not yet learn'd how to ſuffer; and partly through impatience of the reſtraints they were under in their journey, and grief at the proſpect of ſlavery, fell into violent diſorders, which

might have admitted a remedy, but they refuſed to accept it, alledging in excuſe for themſelves, that they did not make a cowardly revolt from the ſtation, which providence had placed them in, but retired at it's call to the ſeats of bliſs, from a life altogether diſhonourable to themſelves, and unprofitable to the world. BESACH, upon his arrival at Memphis, found, that his reputation amongſt his countrymen had ſtood him in ſome ſtead, as he was placed above the ordinary rank of ſlaves, and employ'd about the king's houſhold. The death of his ſons however hung heavy upon his mind; and the conſolation he found in his ſurviving daughter, was much allayed by paternal anxiety for her welfare. He thought honourably of his family, and wiſh'd her an education ſuitable to it; but he deſpaired of that at a time, when he with much difficulty procured her the neceſſaries of life. He reſolved, notwithſtanding, not to be wanting in that material part, which himſelf could ſupply; he early implanted in her boſom ſuch maxims, as would be moſt ſerviceable, when ſhe came to conſider her condition, the ſeeds of humility, courage, and chaſtity. The forming of her mind was his peculiar care; nor did he neglect inſtructing her, how to expreſs it with propriety and grace. He did not pretend to contribute the ornamental parts of a female addreſs; nor was he ſolicitous, whether ſhe attained them or not, ſince without them ſhe was leſs expoſed to obſervation. Nevertheleſs the growing virtues, he had ſtored her boſom with, inſenſibly affected her whole carriage, and gave a poliſh, beyond the power of art, to her perſon; for a graceful mein is the natural reſult

of a cultivated mind, and where that is wanting, the refinements of a court are only ſpecious, and want their proper foundation; they are artfully put on to repreſent ſuch qualities of the mind, as are not to be found in it. HAZIA had a look of great modeſty, which is ſo amiable in the ſex; and no wonder, ſince ſhe had been trained up to that virtue. She had an engaging ſimplicity in her countenance; for ſhe had been taught no artifice. Her converſation was pleaſing, becauſe it flowed from humanity and reaſon. Her geſture and aſpect were eaſy and becoming, becauſe nature had not been wanting to her, and ſhe had been careful not to deviate from it. Had ſhe been introduced into an aſſembly of the higheſt Ægyptian ladies, her behaviour would have given no offence; and had the aſſembly been formed of ladies from different courts, though ſhe would have differed ſomething from all, it is probable, her carriage, which was moſtly the reſult of nature and virtue, would have bid faireſt for their common imitation.

The foreſight of BESACH, her father, and her own retired life had not concealed her from the notice of MENETH, a young galant at court, who waited an opportunity of doing a ſervice to HARAN the miniſter, that he might have ſome pretence of begging ſo ſmall a boon, as one of the ſlaves of SESOSTRIS. BESACH, knowing the defenceleſs ſituation of his beauteous ward, was continually on the watch, and not a little troubled to find, that young MENETH divided all his time betwixt thoſe walks, which HAZIA frequented, and an aſſiduous attendance upon HARAN. His fears were too great not to affect the compoſure of his mind. HAZIA

perceived a ſurprizing change, without ſuſpecting any additional ground for it; and would frequently retort his own precepts upon him. "Father, ſhe would ſay, you have taught me, that misfortunes are the beſt ſchool; that to repine is to upbraid heaven; that the neceſſaries of life are few, and every thing elſe may be ſupplied by chearfulneſs and content. How is it, that you retract your doctrines, and make me ſuſpect their reality? Will you ſhew me ſo ill an example, as to yield to your ſufferings; and deprive me not only of your life (which your cares will ſoon put an end to) but even of the pattern and principles, which I have only to rely upon, if providence ſhould make me an orphan as well as a ſlave?" BESACH was affected beyond expreſſion with ſuch diſcourſe, and diſſembled his concern as well as he could; and whenever he perceived his gloomy thoughts were likely to get the better of him, he always retired from her company. He ſeldom could compoſe himſelf to reſt, till it was late; and frequently ſpent the time of ſleep in uneaſy reflections and broken ſoliloquies, wandring about the porticos and private walks of the palace, and at his return pretended he had been employed in ſome ſervice by the officers of the court. His melancholy apprehenſions had taken poſſeſſion of him one evening, when he ſat down under a low dark arch (which led to the apartments of the ſlaves) ruminating on the miſeries of his country, particularly of his own family, and the diſhonour, which ſeemed pointed at his daughter; when unexpectedly he ſaw a man glide acroſs the court, and make directly towards the king's apartment. At firſt he thought it was only a creature

creature of his own melancholy imagination, becauſe he knew every body within the bounds of the court was at reſt at that hour, except the guards, who durſt not, without ſome good reaſon, move from their poſts. He indulged his curioſity ſo far however, as to ſtep gently after him, and ſoon found he was not deceived; he was near enough to perceive the man lay a poiniard down at his feet, and with great facility looſen the bars of a window, with an inſtrument he had brought with him for that purpoſe. BESACH apprehended nothing leſs than a deſperate aſſaſſination of the king: whereupon he drew toward him with the utmoſt caution, and under favour of the ſhade, and the man's eager attention to his deſign, he got near enough to ſnatch up the poiniard, and preſenting it to his breaſt, "Villain, ſaid he, I will not ſuffer a great prince to fall by the hands of an aſſaſſin." The man fell trembling at his feet, and was going to beg for mercy, when the guards, who heard the outcry of BESACH, flew towards them in an inſtant. BESACH delivered him into their hands, and returned home to his daughter, fully purged of his melancholy by this lucky accident; and with the greateſt chearfulneſs, "HAZIA, ſays he, I hope you are now out of the reach of a danger, which I durſt not ſo much as acquaint you with yeſterday. That courtier, whom you have obſerved in your walk, and about our lodging, thinks you not without beauty, and intends to aſk HARAN to oblige him with ſo ſmall a favour, as one of the king's ſlaves." She was going to declare, how much more eligible death was, than ſuch a ſtain to her virtuous family, when her father aſſured her, that by to-

morrow

morrow ſhe would not be in the diſpoſal of HARAN himſelf, if SESOSTRIS was not the moſt ungrateful of all princes. Upon which he acquainted her with the happy turn, that his affairs were likely to take, which gave them both a moſt agreeable expectation of the event.

The next day upon examination it appeared, that the aſſaſſin had been hired to this deſperate undertaking by the remains of that party, who oppoſed SESOSTRIS at his return into Ægypt, and had ſet the crown upon his brother's head. So he expired in torments, agreeably to the laws of Ægypt; and when his body was brought to the banks of the Nile to be tranſported for burial, the inquiſitors into his life judged him unworthy of a place of reſt, and left his corps to be toſſed by the waves, and expoſed to devouring fiſhes. SESOSTRIS was acquainted with BESACH's fidelity, and ordered HARAN to reward him, as one, who had ſaved the life of his prince. He and his family were immediately declared free, and a ſmall employment of ſome credit in the houſhold was conferred on him. BESACH was well pleaſed with the ſecurity, which freedom brought along with it; and his moderation was ſatisfied with an acceſs of fortune, which raiſed him conſiderably above want, though not to that condition, which his ſervices might reaſonably lay claim to. For HARAN did not think proper to reward an action very liberally, the merit of which he intended chiefly to transfer upon himſelf. He greatly magnified his own vigilance and activity; he aſſured the king, he had diſcovered the whole conſpiracy: and he put many of the nobles to death,

upon

upon ſlight ſuſpicions, or private reſentment. He pretended to have ſecured the throne to SESOSTRIS by cutting off all poſſibility of a future revolt, and conducted the whole with ſuch a zeal for his ſervice at a time, when there was ſome appearance of danger, that the king thought he could not ſufficiently recompenſe him. He made open profeſſions of his high eſteem for him, and ſaid, "the enemies of HARAN were rebels to his crown; and his ſubjects could not better ſhow their loyalty, than by reverencing the man, to whom he was indebted for his kingdom." Such declarations ſtruck the court with terror, who knew the warmth of the king's temper, and encreaſed the natural haughtineſs of HARAN: he thought himſelf little leſs than divine, and the ſubjects of SESOSTRIS approached him with as much awe, as a guilty mortal does the altar of the GOD, whom he fears to have offended.

BESACH could not but obſerve, to what an height HARAN had raiſed himſelf upon the reputation of a ſervice, which himſelf had the greateſt ſhare in; but he ſhewed not the leaſt diſguſt; he paid a reverence to his ſuperior ſtation without flattery, which he could not practiſe, though he had been a ſlave. However as this carriage was not ſo full of obeiſance as HARAN expected, he ſeldom came into his preſence. He wanted not to enlarge his fortune; and he thought himſelf ſecure in the good will of the king. But it was not long before he had reaſon to know, that having merit toward a prince is not a ſufficient guard againſt thoſe, who have free acceſs to him. HARAN was eaſily induced to believe, that he had not BESACH's affections, becauſe he knew

knew he did not deſerve them; and was confirmed in this opinion by the neglect, which he thought he ſaw in his behaviour. He had therefore been ſome time determined upon his ruin. How to effect this, was ſome difficulty: diſloyalty was an handle he wiſhed for; but all ſuſpicions of that kind would appear groundleſs, when charged upon BESACH. He laid out ſeveral contrivances in his mind to that purpoſe, and opened himſelf one day on that ſubject to MENETH, whoſe inclination for BESACH's daughter was now no ſecret to him. MENETH immediately ſuggeſted a method to him, which gained his approbation at once; for though it was exceeding cruel, it was well diſguiſed. "Thoſe people, ſaid he, whom the king brought from the eaſt, have, ſome of them, gained their liberty, and though they enjoy the privileges of Ægyptians, they repine at the ſervitude of the reſt: they are altogether diſaffected, and wait for ſome change to their advantage. They are continually inſtilling difficulties into the people concerning religion, in which they differ widely from the natives. They deſire nothing more than the extirpation of our ancient rites, and the venerable worſhip of our anceſtors. If you would acquaint the king of the danger to be apprehended from ſuch a party, he would give up the lives of ſo many for the peace of his kingdoms; and your enemy would fall amongſt the reſt, without being ſuppoſed to be particularly aimed at." The bloodineſs of this project was no obſtacle to HARAN's thirſt of revenge; he applauds it highly, and goes immediately to the king. "O SESOSTRIS, ſays he, the Gods have given you an empire without bounds; may the days of your life

life be without number. Your throne is now ſecured againſt it's moſt dangerous enemies; the leaders in the late faction are entirely taken off; and I much wondered at the folly of their attempt, and could not eaſily conceive, what numbers they would raiſe to ſeize on your throne, or attempt any thing great, ſince their depriving you of life (which was their firſt aim) would only have rouzed your ſubjects to vengeance, inſtead of ſtrengthening their party. But I have ſince diſcovered, that their chief confidence was in the diſcontent of thoſe ſlaves, whom you have brought from the eaſt. They are very numerous; and though at preſent low; and by no means dangerous, yet may not be ſo eaſily dealt with, if an experienced leader were at their head. The ſecurity of the crown is my ſole intereſt, and the ſpring of my ambition. I am alarmed at the diſtant approaches of danger, and would even have the poſſibility of it anticipated." The king's anſwer was ſhort and determinate, that he confided in him for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe rebels.

This was ſufficient authority for HARAN; he formed a decree under the royal name, with accuſations highly aggravated againſt that miſerable people, who were to be put to death, wherever they were found through the kingdom; and the magiſtrates were ſtrictly charged with the execution. He immediately communicated this to his confident; "and now, MENETH, ſays he, ſucceſs depends ſolely on ourſelves; and the firſt ſtep toward it is to ſecure BESACH in ſome ſafe place, leſt he apply to the king, or by any means eſcape the general maſſacre." MENETH was glad to remove

move ſuch an obſtacle to his vicious inclinations, and undertook the performance of that part. "I know, ſays he, his conſtant walk is northward of the city: he ſhall be ſeized this very evening by faithful hands, and conveyed down the river to that old caſtle, which ſtands where the Nile divides itſelf." The propoſal was well received, and he went immediately to command the execution of it. MENETH was in much anxiety for the event, till toward midnight, when one of the villains, whom he had employed, returned to inform him, that every thing was conducted with ſecrecy, and that BESACH was under a guard in the caſtle. He no ſooner heard this, than he went to BESACH's houſe, and almoſt forcing an admiſſion to his daughter; "HAZIA, ſaid he with a dejected air, it is neceſſity, and your extreme danger only that could make me break in upon your retirement at ſo late an hour. You muſt have heard, that the court entertains ſome jealouſy of your nation; and at the hazard of my life I will venture to inform you, that it will not be appeaſed without ſhedding of blood. BESACH, your father, is apprehenſive of it, and is fled, flattering himſelf, that your weak ſex would be your protection; but I myſelf ſaw the decree, which enjoins a general ſlaughter without any exemption. The hazard I run in this diſcovery ought to merit your confidence, which if you pleaſe to repoſe in me, it may be your preſervation. I can lodge you near the king's apartment, till the execution be over, with the greateſt privacy and ſecurity to your life and honor; and will afterward procure your pardon, or the means of eſcape." HAZIA trembled at this account; ſhe knew not what

part

part to ſuſpect; and her father's not returning ſeemed to be a confirmation of it. She wept bitterly at the apprehenſion of ſuch a ſlaughter of innocent people, whom ſhe was allied to; beſides the uncertainty of her own and her father's ſafety. She had no inclination to put herſelf into the hands of MENETH; but there was little room for deliberation, when ſhe had no other protection at hand: ſhe accepted therefore the offer of being lodged near the royal apartment, which ſeemed to preſage nothing diſhonourable. She was not diſappointed to find, that he made her frequent viſits there, and teized her with a paſſion, which ſhe was little diſpoſed to attend to. However, ſhe bore it with indifference at firſt, becauſe ſhe knew the palace was her ſanctuary; and the guards poſted at convenient diſtance might eaſily be alarmed. But when MENETH magnified her obligations to him, and talked to her as one indebted to him for her life, ſhe could not bear to be upbraided with a favour, for which ſhe could make no return. Her condition grew exceeding irkſome; and at the peril of her life, ſhe reſolved upon an expedient to alter it. There was a ſpacious gallery adjoining, adorned with the ſtatues and effigies of ancient kings and lawgivers, and furniſhed with ineſtimable volumes of prieſts and poets, the improvers of human ſociety. Here SESOSTRIS ſpent ſeveral hours every day, ruminating upon the duties of a prince and the arts of government; and while he was thus engaged, HAZIA had the boldneſs to break in upon his retirement, and throwing herſelf proſtrate, in the utmoſt confuſion, and with ſome extravagance of geſture; "O king, ſaid ſhe, famed for your greatneſs of ſoul more than

than conqueſt, do not ſtain your glory by deſtroying the life of a helpleſs virgin. I am the daughter of BESACH, who aſk mercy of SESOSTRIS. Do not ſhed the blood of him, whoſe fidelity preſerved you from the hand of a vile aſſaſſin." The king was diſturbed at her appearance, and ſaid, "Lady, your mind is diſordered; your own melancholy creates your diſtreſs. BESACH and his family are ever entitled to my favour." He immediately withdrew, and ordered, that BESACH ſhould give an account of this interruption. HARAN was greatly alarmed at the news of this incident, and going inſtantly to the king, took the advantage of his opinion, that HAZIA was diſtracted, and told him, ſhe was put under proper care, till her father's return, who was ſaid to be abroad. The king was pretty well pacified with this account. A report, that SESOSTRIS had made enquiry after BESACH, had now reached the ear of thoſe, who had him in cuſtody; which ſo terrified them, that they fled with great precipitation, and left him to his own diſpoſal; which he no ſooner obſerved, than he ſeized the opportunity, and returned to Memphis, where all occurrences during his ſhort abſence ſoon came to his knowledge. He repaired immediately to the king and aſſured him, that the interruption of his ſacred retirement from his daughter was the effect of her well-grounded fears; that ſhe had reaſon to apprehend the worſt of ills from the undeſerved malice of his enemies; that himſelf had juſt been releaſed from priſon, where he had ſuffered great hardſhips, and expected death, without knowing for what crime, or by whoſe order. "Nor do I expect to prolong life by this eſcape, added he; your royal decree, which pronounces all

your eaſtern captives rebels, and deſtines them to deſtruction, includes me in that number; and I willingly ſubmit to ſuffer with my countrymen, or rather would ſuffer for them, ſince I have too much reaſon to believe myſelf particularly aimed at, and the ſole cauſe of their calamity."

SESOSTRIS till now was ignorant of BESACH's relation to that people. Upon this information, his face glowed like fire; his indignation ſhewed itſelf in all his geſtures; his eyes ſhot forth beams like thoſe malignant ſtars, that threaten the world with deſolation. He perceived, that he had been abuſed by his favourite; he ſaw plainly the malice of HARAN; and his abhorrence of him was raiſed in proportion to the abuſe of his confidence. He ordered him to ſpend the remainder of his life in that miſerable ſtate, from which BESACH had eſcaped. He ſoon found, how indifferently his preſerver BESACH had been recompenſed for his ſervice; and to make him ſatisfaction, aſſured him, that the higheſt honors and wealth of Memphis were open to him. But BESACH's moderation would not be prevailed upon to accept of any thing, but a ſmall territory near Thebes for his captive countrymen *; which their poſterity now enjoy, and live ſeparate from the natives of Ægypt in the worſhip of the true GOD. The hiſtorians add, that SESOSTRIS was ſo captivated with the beauty and virtues of HAZIA, that he raiſed her to the throne of Ægypt; and that the blood of that eaſtern lady flowed in the veins of the Ægyptian kings through many ſucceſſions †. H.

* See Vol. I. Letter XLVII.

† The intelligent reader cannot but obſerve a great reſemblance between this ſtory and that of *Eſther*. LET-

LETTER CXIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. From Delphi.

I Continued at Thebes, till a letter from the chief ſcribe gave me full information of the cauſe, as well as defeat, of my enemies deſigns. The teſtimony of my royal maſter in my favour, and the fortunate effects of that generous protection, which INTAPHERNES and thyſelf afforded to an old dependant in the time of his diſtreſs, have reſtored me to my former ſpirits and tranquillity.

I ſet out immediately on my Delphic expedition, accompanied by PROCLES an Athenian, and ARCHIAS a Theban, an old man of remarkable piety and ſimplicity of manners. The former is, like myſelf, induced to take this journey merely through motives of pleaſure and curioſity. His agreeable turn of converſation, and equal vein of good humour, render him the beſt travelling companion I ever met with. The latter goes to conſult the oracle on domeſtic concerns; and by his acquaintance in thoſe parts of Greece, ſecured to us a favourable reception at the houſes of our hoſts on the road. After croſſing the river Cephiſſus, we entered Phocis; and, as we approached Delphi, paſſed the celebrated valley, where LAIUS was killed by his ſon OEdipus. It lies on a deſcent, and is ſo narrow, as ſcarce to afford room for a ſingle man or horſe. The ſepulchre of the Theban king, and a domeſtic, who was murdered with him, are erected in a ruſtic manner

with piles of ſtones on one ſide of the road. The city of Delphi ſtands on the ſouthern declivity of mount Parnaſſus, which by an old tradition is ſaid to be ſituated in the middle of the earth. It is ſurrounded with precipices, which form at a diſtance a perſpective rough and wild, but romantic and agreeable; ſo that the place, not content with the ſanctity and reverential awe inſpired by the ſhrine of it's god, has all the advantages of natural ſtrength to defend it from ſacrilegious violence. Our firſt viſit was to THEAGENES, a prieſt of the temple, to whom PROCLES and myſelf were introduced by ARCHIAS. His houſe will be our lodging, whilſt we ſtay here; and, without any diſreſpect to the curioſities of the place, his converſation is my chief entertainment. He has the care of the ſacred records, which he has brought from a ſtate of confuſion into excellent order. His learning is extenſive, but ſolid; rendered uſeful by the readineſs, with which he communicates it, and amiable by the ſingular candor and modeſty, which accompany it. He ſpeaks of his religion in ſuch a manner, as to ſupport the dignity of his profeſſion, yet without offending thoſe, who claim a right to think and talk of it more freely. In the morning one of the Periegetai, whoſe profeſſion it is to ſhew the antiquities of the place, made us an offer of his ſervice, which they do to all ſtrangers immediately after their arrival. We began with taking a general ſurvey of the city, which is divided into three parts; the upper town, the middle one, where the temple ſtands, and the lower town. The city in general

is

is but indifferently built; the ſtreets are narrow and irregular, many of them winding round the craggy paths of the mountain. If being employed in ſacred offices contributes towards rendring a people virtuous, thoſe of Delphi are eminently ſo, ſince the ſervice of the temple finds buſineſs for the greateſt part of the inhabitants; and no ſmall profits ariſe to them from the vaſt concourſe of ſtrangers, who come from all parts to conſult the oracle. Our guide afterwards led us to a theatre, and the portico called Leſche, where are three pictures of POLYGNOTUS dedicated to APOLLO by the Cnidians. The ſubject of one is the taking of Troy; of another, the embarkation of the Greeks for their return; of the third, the deſcent of ULYSSES into hell, as deſcribed in the Odyſſey of Homer. The ſecond of theſe pictures alone contains above one hundred figures, whoſe names are marked at the feet of each; which uſeful invention greatly aſſiſts the ſpectators to underſtand the deſign of the painter. We ſtaid ſo long to admire the variety of countenances, habits, and attitudes, expreſſed with that truth of deſign and force of coloring peculiar to the works of POLYGNOTUS, that the evening inſenſibly wore upon us. We returned to THEAGENES to ſupper, and deferred our viſit to the temple till next day.

This magnificent edifice was built in the 58th Olympiad (after the firſt temple had been burnt;) at the common charge of all Greece, under the direction of SPINTHARUS of Corinth, who engaged to finiſh it for 300 talents. Such was the veneration paid to the deity

it's protector, that foreign ſtates, as well as private perſons, contributed towards carrying on the work; particularly AMASIS king of Egypt, and the Alcmeonidæ, a noble Athenian family, who were baniſhed their native country by PISISTRATUS, and came to ſettle at Delphi. The front is of Parian marble; the reſt of the edifice is built with a hard white ſtone called Porus. The pediment of the front is ornamented with ſculptures of the Gods by PRAXIAS and ANDROSTHENES. As we entered the porch, we took notice of the ſentences of the ſeven Grecian wiſemen, "Know thy ſelf, &c." left there by each of thoſe philoſophers in their hand-writing, when they viſited the temple. In the ſame place is a braſen ſtatue of HOMER; in the pedeſtal is inſcribed an oracle bidding him beware of an ænigma, which, according to an old but perhaps fabulous tradition, was the occaſion of his death, through vexation, that he could not interpret it. The columns within are hung round with the arms and enſigns taken at Salamis and Platæa. It was, thou mayſt imagine, my noble friend, the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance in taking a ſurvey of the temple, to ſee ſo many eternal monuments of the Grecian victories over us conſecrated ſolemnly to the deity of the place, and deſcending to poſterity as indelible marks of their triumphs and our diſgrace. I beheld with concern the ſtatues of MILTIADES, and the ancient heroes of Attica, CECROPS and PANDION, carved by PHIDIAS out of the booty taken at Marathon. When I went on further, and our guide in pompous language pointed to the palm-tree of bronze, and the gilt MINERVA, ſent

hither

hither after CIMON's ſucceſſes, it was with difficulty, that I repreſſed my ſighs, and checked my juſt warmth. But I ſaw with ſecret pleaſure the trophies ſet up by the ſtates of Greece for their conqueſts over each other, which in ſome degree obliterate the memory of theſe loſſes, or at leaſt render them more ſupportable. There is a chapel juſt finiſhed out of the riches gained by the Athenians in the preſent war. Beaks of ſhips, brazen bucklers, and arms ſtained with blood are hung round the ſides; and an inſcription on a marble tablet commemorates the battle of Naupactus *, and the praiſes of PHORMIO the Athenian admiral, with a recital of the names of the vanquiſhed cities, Corinth, Sparta, and Megara.

The temple is in all parts embelliſhed with innumerable preſents of commonwealths, princes, and private perſons, which I ſhould tire thee to deſcribe particularly. Deluded men! as if even the protection of their own Gods, ſuppoſing them real, could be obtained by the ambitious, the deceitful, or the covetous, for a ſilver vaſe, or an embroidered robe; or as if the pious, the humane, and the juſt, ſtood in need of ſuch corrupt recommendations. CROESUS, king of Lydia, was during his reign the moſt generous adorer of the Delphic God; they ſhewed a golden lion, ſeveral ſacrificing utenſils finely emboſſed, and bracelets ſet with jewels, amounting, as they told us, to the value of 254 talents, which he ſent hither at different times. There can be no ſtronger example than his of the fatal effects

* Vide Vol. I. Letter XLVI. pag. 183.

of miſguided piety. The prieſts, not contented with amuſing that unfortunate prince by dark and myſterious anſwers, hurried him on, by one fatally ambiguous, to the imprudent ſtep of paſſing the river Halys to attack our great CYRUS, which coſt him his kingdom. It was with good reaſons, that after his captivity he ſent to reproach the God with having ungratefully deceived a monarch, who was his greateſt benefactor. Thou wilt not wonder, that the riches of the place have often expoſed it to hoſtile fury. Not to enlarge upon the attempts of DANAUS and PYRRHUS in old times, ſuffice it to ſay, that the temple was pillaged by the Criſſeans in the 44th Olympiad; and that the unſucceſsful attack made by a detachment of XERXES's army was attended with too remarkable circumſtances to be ſoon forgot.

By the particular favor of THEAGENES, we were admitted to take a ſhort view of the ſanctuary. The chaſm in the earth, from which APOLLO reveals his prophetic dictates, is always covered with a tripod, a kind of hollow table with three feet, on which the Pythia is placed in a poſture the moſt convenient to receive the inſpiring vapour. A curtain made of a skin, which they call the hide of the monſter Python, conceals the holy virgin from profane eyes.

As we went out of the temple, we obſerved a venerable old man, who looked like one of the inferior prieſts, employed with particular gravity in admoniſhing ſome birds to retire, who had perched themſelves upon the columns and ſtatues at the entrance. He told them, that he ſhould be extremely concerned to be inſtrumental

mental in the death of animals, whoſe various flights foretold to mankind the unerring will of the immortal Gods. The birds ſeemed to take no notice of this pathetic harangue, and continued their chirping; upon which the old prieſt with great indignation took up a bow and arrows, that lay by him, and exerted his ſkill in archery ſo effectually, as ſoon to diſperſe theſe profane moleſters of the temple. My friend PROCLES and myſelf, who with no ſmall difficulty had preſerved our gravity at the ridiculous ſtories of our conductor, could not upon this occaſion help aſking him, with a ſmile, the office of this prieſt, who ſeemed to have ſo large a ſhare in the dexterity of the far-ſhooting APOLLO his patron. THEAGENES, who accompanied us, prevented him by ſaying, that though by his ſounding title χρυσοφύλαξ τῦ Θεῦ, guardian of the gold of the God, he might ſeem to be of high conſequence amongſt them, his employment was really no other, than to waſh the pavement of the temple with water from the fountain Caſtalia; to fill two marble urns, which ſtand at the entrance, from that ſpring; to place branches and crowns of freſh laurel in proper places; and to perform thoſe ceremonies towards the birds, of which we had juſt been ſpectators.

Thou, my noble friend, who adhereſt to the law delivered by ZOROASTER, with a zeal and ſincerity becoming it's primitive profeſſors, mayſt ſmile at theſe extravagancies of the Greek ſuperſtitions; but thou wilt have no reaſon to be ſurprized at them, when thou conſidereſt, that from the earlieſt ages the artful and

deſign-

deſigning have concurred to keep the credulous multitude in the darkneſs of religious ignorance.

P.

LETTER CXIV.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

THOU wilt be ſurprized to hear, that ORSAMES, whom thou ſuppoſeſt ſtill engaged in the myſterious learning and ſtupendous works of Ægypt; or whom perhaps thou flattereſt thyſelf to be preparing for a viſit to thee, in order to crown his obſervations with the more humane ſtudies and finiſhed arts of Greece; that the contemplative, the inquiſitive ORSAMES has put an end to his curious voyage, and is returned to Suſa. Such was the will of the wiſe ARTÆUS, whoſe commands our young friend has always been accuſtomed to obey, from a readineſs ariſing not only from a principle of duty, but from a conſtant experience of their being the kindeſt as well as the moſt reaſonable. Accordingly he flew back to court with ſuch ſpeed, as if he had known, that the moſt accompliſhed princeſs there, and the greateſt ſucceſſion in the empire, waited his arrival.

The friendſhip, which has long ſubſiſted between the families of ARTÆUS and SISAMNES, gave ORSAMES frequent opportunities of ſeeing the beauteous PARMYS, before he went upon his travels. He ſaw and admired her; but intent on the purſuit of ſcience, he formed no other than the diſtant hope of qualifying himſelf

ſelf one day to deſerve her. SISAMNES, in the mean time, deſcended from a long line of Hyrcanian ſatraps, which by the loſs of two noble ſons he ſaw ready to end in himſelf, turned all his views upon his beloved PARMYS; and was looking round, among the great families of Perſia, for a youth to adopt into his own, and make happy in his daughter. Nor could he long be in ſuſpence; the heir of ARTÆUS ſoon fixed his choice. Educated under a father, whoſe virtues have placed him at the head of the ſupreme tribunal, and whoſe eloquence prevails in the council of the great king, as, thou telleſt us, that of PERICLES did in the Athenian aſſembly, ORSAMES ſteadily kept his eye, not on the dazzling honors, which are to deſcend to him, but on the glorious methods, by which they were acquired; and while he attended only to the improvement of his mind by the converſation of the wiſe, was not conſcious, that he was obſerved and admired by the great. But as ſoon as ever this alliance was known, the public had but one voice about it; and the univerſal approbation it meets with, is a teſtimony to virtue and good ſenſe worthy of a leſs degenerate age. The mighty ARTAXERXES has indeed led the way, by breaking through that frugality in beſtowing honors, which, thou knoweſt, he ſo wiſely obſerves, and continuing the dignities of SISAMNES to his ſon-in-law.

It was the day before the marriage, that accompanied by the polite mage TEASPES, (whom the good taſte of ORSAMES had diſtinguiſhed early among the ſages in the Bactrian ſchools) I found him not at all elated at this near proſpect of greatneſs, but engaged, as uſual,

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in thoſe ſtudies, which form the patriot and the ſtateſman. The archives of the empire lay open before him; he propoſed ſeveral queſtions with that ingenuous vehemence, which ſo well becomes him; nor would he ſuffer us to leave him, without one of thoſe friendly debates, which I have often deſcribed to thee among the chief pleaſures of my Bactrian retirement.

Let us not imagine, my dear CLEANDER, that a young man, who comes into the world with ſuch diſpoſitions, comes into it too early. It might be a fatal experiment in moſt great families; but how few at his age have lived and thought like him? We ſhould rather eſteem it a peculiar felicity, that he is at once carried over that dangerous term of life, wherein ſuch numbers of our noble youth loſe all the fruits of their education, and receive a taint, which affects their whole future conduct. It is ſurely very unaccountable, that a courſe of luxury and riot ſhould be held a neceſſary preparation to a life of virtue and honor; and the inſtructions and company of philoſophers be conſidered as an impediment to our knowledge of the world. But ORSAMES will be a ſtriking inſtance of the abſurdity of theſe maxims. Nor need his learned friends apprehend, that the man of letters will be loſt in the man of the world. Inſtead of abandoning the arts he loved, he will ſhew, how much they adorn the higheſt ſtations; nor will his increaſing acquaintance among the great drive from his heart the companions of his ſtudies. He will not be the leſs their friend, becauſe he is in a ſituation to be their patron.

May the power, which watches over the fate of the empire, inſpire our riſing generation with an emulation of theſe virtues. So ſhall the honor of the Perſian diſcipline be reſtored; and we ſhall be able to oppoſe an equal band of heroes to thoſe ſhining genii among the Greeks, who make thee tremble ſometimes for the throne of Aſia.

W.

LETTER CXV.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER. From Sparta.

WHEN we were at Thebes together, my CLEANDER, our converſation turned very much on the ſtates of Greece, and thou wert particularly inquiſitive after the policy and manners of Lacedæmon. I related to thee at that time ſome obſervations I had made, and promiſed to ſend them, on my return to Sparta, more accurately drawn up in writing. It is indeed an unhappy circumſtance, that thou art prevented from viſiting this ſeat of military virtue and unadulterated good ſenſe, as well by the laws of the republic, as that jealous and inhoſpitable temper, which is the offſpring of civil war. I parted from thee with uncommon reluctance, as I knew, that * the diſcovery of one of my letters laſt year in Athens had reduced us from an open, chearful, and improving converſation, to a dry, timorous, and reſerved correſpondence. I ſhall write to

* See Letter XC.

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thee indeed at preſent with more freedom, not only becauſe the city, where thou now reſideſt, enters not into the feuds and politics of Greece, but becauſe the ſubject, on which thou deſireſt to be enlightened, requires an explicit perſpicuity. Whilſt thou informeſt thyſelf of the moſt curious circumſtances attending the moſt celebrated oracle in the world, let me entertain thee with the inſtitutions and commonwealth of that lawgiver, whom the ſame oracle pronounced a GOD. So great was either the reputation of LYCURGUS to command this teſtimony, or ſo great his art in procuring it.

The country of Laconia has often changed it's name and it's poſſeſſors. It was called Lelegia from king LELEX; Oebalia, from OEBALUS the father of CASTOR and POLLUX, (whoſe amicable and united government produced the known fable concerning them,) and obtained the appellation it now has from king LACEDÆMON. It was held firſt by the Achæans with PELOPS at their head; next by the Sparti, who were governed by CADMUS; then by the deſcendants of the Argonauts; and laſtly by the race of HERCULES, from whom the inhabitants of our days are derived. There is ſomething, methinks, ridiculous enough in the tedious and grave hiſtories recorded of theſe men. Doubtleſs the craggy territory of Laconia fared like other parts of Greece, when wild and uncultivated. During the early ages, the lands, that lay near the ſea-coaſts, were an harbour for pirates, who put themſelves under the guidance of a general or petty prince, and plunder-

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ed the more fruitful, and conſequently the more inhabited parts of the earth, with the greater reſolution, as they imagined no man would purſue them to the barren rocks, that protected them. Such were the Achæi and Heraclidæ, the firſt lords of the ſoil, and boaſted anceſtors of ſo poliſhed a poſterity; ſavage robbers in their original, improved by foreign colonies, and civilized by a ſtrange concurrence of whimſical events.

The city of Sparta (they ſay) owes it's riſe to king LACEDÆMON. It is of a round figure, without walls or a citadel. The houſes are built with ſingular ſimplicity, for the only tools, allowed by law for building, are an axe and a hand-ſaw. The Eurotas runs along the eaſt ſide of the plain, in which it is ſituated, and often lays waſte the country by it's inundations. It is ſurrounded by hills, on one ſide rough and inacceſſible, on the other varied by caſcades and torrents, which fall into the river, that winds impetuouſly through the valley. The very manner of the place is ſuited to the hardy temper of the people.

No republic has been more various in it's form than this. At firſt it was a monarchy, and continued in that ſtate, till PROCLES and EURYSTHENES, the ſons of ARISTODEMUS. They ruled it jointly, and from them two kings are entailed for ever on Lacedæmon. All laws were made and cancelled at their will; all magiſtrates were created at their pleaſure, and accountable to them. Things went on ſmoothly in the ſame channel for many years, when EURYTION, through a weakneſs of underſtanding, or a mean affectation of popularity, leſſened his own power, and made room

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for the efforts of ſedition. The kings were afterwards deſirous to remedy the confuſion ariſing from the folly of vanity of their predeceſſor, and attempted to reſume their former authority. But the people contended for their imaginary rights with ſuch violence, that in a riot they killed one of their princes, the father of LYCURGUS. Nothing was able now to reſtrain their fury; they inſiſted on a chimerical equality of ranks, and overthrew the diſtinctions and neceſſary ſubordinations of ſociety. Every man, who had the leaſt knowledge of the laws, invented ſubtleties to evade them, pretended to interpret them, and would have impoſed his private ſenſe for the public opinion. In this captious diſpoſition, the ſlighteſt offence from the magiſtrate confirmed the abſurdity, increaſed the obſtinacy, and raiſed the inſolence of an exaſperated multitude. LYCURGUS alone ventured to oppoſe the torrent with equal ſpirit and abilities; nor did the loſs of an eye affect him, which in a warm debate was ſtruck out by the factious ALCANDER. He began with concerting a ſcheme among his friends for a thorough reformation; then formed a council of thirty among the principal citizens, and ſtationed a guard of ſoldiers in the forum, to prevent an inſurrection; rightly judging, that a violent diſeaſe required as violent a remedy. When this was done, and the commonwealth had given him a power of new modelling the conſtitution, he eſtabliſhed a ſenate with the kings at their head, and gave laws to the people, which, without being committed to writing, he has contrived to engrave on their hearts by the rigor of education. They are recorded no where except in the

the verſes of TERPANDER, who has reduced them into the meaſures of poetry. Their number is not large, for, as CHARILAUS very ſmartly ſaid, "They, who uſe few words, can want but few laws." Fortitude and a contempt of pleaſure are principally inculcated there. Every citizen is obliged ſtrictly to conform to them; for which reaſon PAUSANIAS thought Sparta anſwered the trueſt notion of a free government, when he pronounced it to be "the empire of laws, and not of men." As LYCURGUS had travelled into all parts of the world, he had great opportunities of comparing the practice of different legiſlators. He examined the different inſtitutions of MINOS in Crete, went into Spain and Africa, and even converſed with the Gymnoſophiſts in India. From Ægypt he took the hint of making the ſoldiers a diſtinct body from thoſe, who were occupied in the labors of the tillage; and after he had compounded the beſt ſyſtem, which the wiſdom of others, or his own could invent, he forbad the laws of all ſtates, that differed from Lacedæmon, to be commended, or even mentioned in Sparta. It is owing to the ſame caution, that no citizen is ſuffered to travel into foreign parts. On being asked by ſomebody, why he gave an ariſtocratical, not a popular, turn to the conſtitution, he bad him "go and try the experiment at home." The queſtion was a very odd one, in a city, that had ſuffered ſo much from the fury of the people. LYCURGUS died at Delphi by voluntarily abſtaining from food, becauſe he had ſolemnly obliged his countrymen with an oath to obey his laws till his return; a thing, which he never intended. Satisfied, that he had lived

ſufficiently for his country, he choſe to leave the world, when he was old, with an intrepidity agreeable to his ſtern character; and thought it unbecoming a great man to die timorouſly and weakly, or to out-live his memory and parts in indolence. His citizens pay him divine honors in a temple they have built to him, not ſo much out of regard to the ſenſe of the oracle, as to the dictates of their own grateful hearts.

While he was in Ionia, he recovered HOMER's poems from the deſcendants of CREOPHILUS, and publiſhed them in Greece. In Crete too he put himſelf under the care of THALES, a writer of Lyric odes, and was inſtructed by him. It appears, that he had ſome taſte for polite literature, though he has carefully extinguiſhed the love of it in his commonwealth; for it is remarkable, that their dialect is ſo uncouth, and the people are taught by the law to be ſo ſparing of words, that no man in Lacedæmon ever raiſed his fame as a poet. ALCMAN is the only exception to this remark; and he, by a ſurprizing ſtrength of genius, has made himſelf admired over all Greece. The beauty and juſtneſs of his ſentiments are the more ſtriking, as the words, which clothe them, are inelegant. Beſides the ſuppreſſion of ſuperfluous diſcourſes, and the entertainments of the theatre, there is nothing tends ſo effectually to damp all attention to letters among the Spartans, as that inſtitution of LYCURGUS, by which the magiſtrate is made the licenſer of every ſprightly and literary, as well as political compoſition; and the right of judging in matters of taſte is unnaturally transferred from the impartial voice of the public, the beſt and only arbiter

in thoſe caſes, to the thrones of the Ephori. Such are the fetters laid upon wit in Sparta, both by the roughneſs of their language, and the genius of their policy.

They contemn the refinements of ſcience and ſubtle ſpeculations: they pretend, that no ſtudies are encouraged here, but thoſe, which ſtrengthen the underſtanding, without perplexing it, and poliſh the manners, without enervating them. It is their opinion, that we are born for action, and not theory; and for the ſervice, rather than the entertainment of mankind. Oratory is not only neglected, but abhorred in Sparta. They have no idea of what it is to be copious, and baniſhed CEPHISOPHON for ſaying, "he could talk a whole day upon any queſtion." A rhetorician told one of their kings, that eloquence was the moſt excellent gift to mankind; he anſwered, "You do well to ſay ſo, becauſe, when you are commanded ſilence, you are uſeleſs." The ſententious brevity, and exquiſite poignancy of the Laconic way of talking, are grown into a proverb. They laugh at the artful turns and round periods of the Athenians, and teach their children from their infancy to comprehend much in a ſhort phraſe; to expreſs at once their whole meaning, ſo as to vie in the manner of conveying their thoughts with the quickneſs of thought itſelf. Thus the Spartans are fond of dexterity, not only in the exerciſes of war, but in thoſe of the underſtanding. They have the moſt exalted notions of liberty, and define it to be a contempt of death, with the love of virtue. Juſt before the invaſion of Greece, BURIS and SPERTHES went to XERXES to be puniſhed in the name of their city, agreeably to the commands

of the oracle, as a ſatisfaction for the murder of thoſe meſſengers DARIUS had ſent to them. The king was pleaſed with their bravery, and generouſly forgave them: he then asked them to continue with him, and commanded INDARNES to make them large offers, and preſs them very warmly. But they ſteadily refuſed, and told INDARNES. "He knew what it was to be a ſervant, but was ignorant of the bleſſings of liberty; for if he had taſted it, he would have adviſed them to maintain it, not only with the weapons of a ſoldier, but, for want of them, with a ſpade, or mattock, or any inſtrument of defenſe they could meet with." No freedom of diſcourſe is allowed any where but in the ſenate or the aſſembly. It is eſteemed an impertinent curioſity to diſcuſs ſuch points, except in thoſe places, which the magiſtrate ordains, or on thoſe occaſions, which the conſtitution marks out. A man would be branded with infamy for a minute examination into the affairs of his acquaintance; or even attending a court of juſtice, if his own buſineſs did not call him there.

Thou, my excellent friend, who art practiſed in the ways of men, muſt have ceaſed long ſince to be moved by the tranſports of admiration: but art thou not pleaſed with diſcovering, that there is one community in the world, where every individual confines his attention to that, which properly concerns himſelf? Free from a love of ſcandal, and all idle enquiries into the manners of their neighbours, (a paſſion, which leads to public calumny, not private reproof, and increaſes the impudence of bad men, without checking the progreſs of vice,) no Spartan finds his time hang heavy on his hands.

hands. Engaged for ever in laudable purſuits, their youth is a ſtate of temperance and exerciſe; their manhood of military ſervice; their old age is ſpent in an healthy and full enjoyment of their faculties, in the adminiſtration of the laws, in applying their experience to the education of others, and in the agreeable reflection, that during the courſe of a life variouſly occupied, they have ſcarce paſſed an hour unprofitably to themſelves or their country.

C.

LETTER CXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS chief ſcribe. From Delphi.

MY excurſions from Athens are, I hope, by no means uſeleſs to the king's ſervice. I enlarge my knowledge of the diſpoſitions and government of the Grecian ſtates. I tranſmit my obſervations upon the manners and curioſities both of art and nature, which occur in the places I paſs through, to the miniſters of the ſublime court; and I endeavour at the ſame time, not to neglect the affairs of that city, which is the particular ſcene of my employment.

A meeting of the Amphictyons or ſtates general of Greece, now held at Delphi, affords me a fair occaſion to lay before thee ſome account of their origin, form, and buſineſs. They are a part of the Græcian conſtitution, which the Perſians have but little attended to, and which it may be highly advantageous, not to ſay neceſſary, for them to be better acquainted with, in their fu-

ture negotiations here. This celebrated aſſembly received it's name, as well as inſtitution, from AMPHICTYON, an Athenian king; who obſerving, that the ſeparate intereſts and diſſentions, which prevailed amongſt the Græcian republics, expoſed them to the invaſions of their more powerful neighbours, wiſely exhorted them to unite by deputies in one common body, which might, in times of danger, concert the beſt meaſures for their mutual ſafety, and prevent, by it's ſalutary influence, the ill effects of private animoſities, and disjointed counſels. As he was a pious as well as political prince, he put the temple of Delphi, and the ſacred territory, under the care and protection of the Amphictyonic tribunal; wiſely thinking, that the public defence and public religion ſhould be matters of a general concern to the Græcians, however divided on ſubjects of leſs importance. ACRISIUS, who reigned ſeveral years after at Argos, is reported to have encreaſed the privileges, and regulated the laws of the Amphictyons; and is for that reaſon eſteemed by ſome a ſecond founder. The ſtates, who enjoy the right of ſending deputies to this council, are at preſent twelve; the Ionians, Theſſalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Perrhœbeans, Magneſians, Locrians, OEtians, Phthiotians, Maleans, Phocians, and Dolopians; but it is probable, that as ſome may have forfeited that diſtinction, and others been admitted in later times, who were not originally included, the number has not been always the ſame. The aſſembly meets in the ſpring and autumn of every year, either at Delphi, or Thermopylæ; and every city amongſt the people, who compoſe it, chooſes two members, the one called the Hiero-

Hieromnemon, and the other the Pylagoras, to repreſent it. The former is elected by lot, and has the honor to be preſident of the council in his turn, to gather the voices, pronounce the decree, and adminiſter at the ſacrifices, which are made either in the name of all the Greeks, or the particular city, by which he is deputed. The latter is choſen by vote, and is properly the orator of the deputation; he delivers the opinion of his ſtate, defends it againſt any accuſation, and takes care of it's intereſt upon all occaſions. As ſoon as theſe deputies arrive at the place, where the Amphictyons are convened, they offer up a ſacrifice to the tutelar Deity, at Delphi to APOLLO, at Thermopylæ to CERES. Then they repair to the aſſembly; but before they are admitted to take their ſeats, the following oath is tendered to them, which, being a remarkable one, I ſhall here inſert.

"I ſwear never to contribute towards deſtroying any of the cities honored with the right of chooſing Amphictyons; or ſtop the courſe of their running waters, either in time of war or peace. If any perſon ſteal the offerings out of the temple of APOLLO, or aſſiſt another in ſo doing, I will oppoſe them with my hands, feet, voice, and my whole ſtrength. Whoever infringes this oath, whether it be a ſtate or a private perſon, let them be accurſed of APOLLO, DIANA, LATONA, and MINERVA the provident: may their ſoil prove barren, their women bring forth nothing but monſters, and their animals not produce in kind. May they never perform a pure ſacrifice to APOLLO, DIANA, and MINERVA the provident; and may their offerings be

an abomination to thoſe deities: May they be alike unſucceſsful in war and law ſuits, and may their poſterity be extirpated from the face of the earth."

A perfect equality is kept up amongſt the members of this great council; the repreſentatives of the moſt powerful republic in Greece have no advantage or pre-eminence over thoſe of the leaſt. Each ſtate from the flouriſhing commonwealth of Athens to the petty town of Eretria poſſeſſes the rights of two votes in the perſons of it's deputies; and, by having an equal ſhare in the deliberations of the Amphictyons, looks upon itſelf as equally concerned in the welfare of Greece. As their meetings are attended with a vaſt concourſe of people from all parts of the country, it has been uſual on particular occaſions for the Hieromnemones to ſummon all the Græcians, who then happen to be reſident in the place, where the aſſembly is held, to aſſiſt at it's deliberations; with this diſtinction, that the latter are not allowed to vote, but merely called upon to countenance by their preſence the decrees of the Amphictyons, and give them a fuller ſanction. The power of this diet is very large, and extends to the proclaiming of war, and deciding of public differences, of which I ſhall mention two remarkable inſtances. About the time of SOLON, the Cirrhæans and Acragallidæ, beſides other inſolences, plundered the temple of Delphi, and diſregarded the orders of the Amphictyons; upon which that body, after taking the advice of the oracle, declared war againſt them in the name of all Greece, defeated their forces, reduced the whole nation, as polluted with ſacrilege and impiety, to a ſtate of ſervitude, and devoted their country to the

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ſervice of the God. In the accommodating way, their endeavours have not been leſs ſucceſsful, than in the military; for when the Spartans and Argives had haraſſed each other by a continued war for many years, they referred their difference to the arbitration of the Amphictyons, who, without taking upon them to determine the juſtice of the cauſe on either ſide, ordered them to bring it to a ſhort iſſue by a combat of four hundred men choſen out of both armies. Of late years they have intermeddled leſs than uſual in the great affairs of Greece, and held their meetings chiefly for form ſake, their chief buſineſs at preſent being to ſettle a tax upon the Græcian ſtates for ſome additions and repairs to the temple of Delphi. The end of their inſtitution was certainly to keep up a good underſtanding in a nation, compoſed of ſo many different governments and jarring intereſts; and were the leading republics diſpoſed to accommodate their diſputes, overtures towards a negotiation could not be ſet on foot any where, with greater weight and propriety, than in this aſſembly.

I rejoice to hear of the vigorous reſolutions of our potent monarch. Another year can hardly paſs over, before ſome criſis may offer itſelf, which may induce him to employ the forces ſo wiſely ordered to be got in readineſs. I have now diſcharged the duty I owe the king, as his miniſter in Greece; but it is a duty, no leſs incumbent on me, to acknowledge the protection I received from thee, noble ſcribe, againſt the aſperſions, which the malice of enemies would have thrown on my reputation and conduct. Hard is it for a man, who is

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ſtruggling abroad amidſt difficulties and hazards in the ſervice of his prince, to be expoſed at home to the ſlander of the malicious, the reports of the credulous, and the judgment of the ignorant. But thou, generous GOBRYAS, proceedeſt not on the common maxims of courts; thou art no leſs ſteady in protecting merit than ſagacious in diſcovering it; and as thy recommendations to preferment are never intended to ſerve a baſe unworthy end, thou ſcorneſt to give up a miniſter, who ſerves faithfully, through motives of fear or intereſt. May the chronicles of Perſia, which tranſmit down thy fame to poſterity, as a wiſe, an honeſt, and an able miniſter, when they record CLEANDER the Epheſian among thoſe, who had the honor to execute thy commands, mention him as one, who was a follower, not of thy fortunes, but of thy virtues. Farewel.

P.

Extract of LETTERS from Athens.

OUR loſs in Ætolia is conſiderable, not for the number of citizens, which did not exceed one hundred and twenty, but for the quality and valor of the ſlain. They were, moſt of them, of the beſt families in Athens, and diſtinguiſhed by their experience and gallantry. DEMOSTHENES, our general, has been blamed with reaſon for quitting the ſiege of Leucas, which he was in a condition of taking, to comply with the perſuaſions of the Meſſenians, who flattered him with the hopes of making an eaſy conqueſt of Ætolia. Since his defeat he has reſided at Naupactus, and lately obtained

tained a reinforcement of a thouſand men from the Acarnanians, to ſecure that important place (whoſe fortifications are of a large extent) againſt the attempts of EURYLOCHUS the Spartan. We have lately received diſpatches from him, which bring us an account, that EURYLOCHUS, with three thouſand Lacedæmonians, having marched through Locris, and joined the Ætolians, laid waſte the country about Naupactus, and ſet fire to part of the ſuburbs; but they no ſooner heard the ſuccours were arrived, than they retired into Ætolis, without receiving any advantage from this expedition, except recovering Molycrium for the Corinthians. But it is imagined they have a deſign on foot to attack Argos and Acarnania. Our advices from Sicily inform us, that CARNEADES our admiral has been killed in a ſea fight againſt the Syracuſians, and that PACHES, who ſucceeds him in the command, has taken Meſſina. We have not received ſo much damage from the ſettlement of the Lacedæmonians at Heraclea as was expected; for the colony, inſtead of being ſtrong enough to make deſcents into Eubœa, is much haraſſed by the continual incurſions of the Theſſalians it's neighbours. The worſt of our misfortunes is, that the plague ſtill continues.

The iſland of Delos has been purified by order of the people, and the * quinquennial feſtival formerly celebrated

* A critic might venture from the mention of this council, not the leaſt trace of which is to be found in any ancient author, to call in queſtion the genuineneſs of our letters. But obſerve, reader, how luckily all circumſtances conſpire to eſtabliſh

brated there, revived with great pomp and ſolemnity. NICIAS was appointed to conduct the chorus of ſingers and dancers, and preſide at the performance of this pious work, and has acquitted himſelf in the charge to every body's ſatisfaction; having ſet up a brazen palm tree in honor of the God, and conſecrated a large piece of land to the ſervice of the temple.

An Amphictionic council is likewiſe eſtabliſhed, compoſed of deputies from this city, and the iſlands of the Egean, who are to have the direction of all matters relating to the temple, to regulate the expences of the games and ſacrifices, and ſettle the quota of money, which each ſtate is to contribute towards them.

LETTER CXVII.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER. From Sparta.

I Have detained thee hitherto, CLEANDER, with ſome ſcattered remarks on the manners of the people I converſe with, and dwelt only on the outſide of things. Let us now penetrate into the receſſes of their policy, and the peculiar ſtrokes of wiſdom, which diſtinguiſh it. I enter on the task of anatomizing their conſtitution with pleaſure, as it is in further obedience

bliſh their credit. The earl of Sandwich has, amongſt other valuable fruits of his travels, enriched the literary world with an original ſtate of the accounts of the temple, made by theſe very Amphictyons, in the 100th Olympiad. The marble was found at Athens; and Dr. Taylor has illuſtrated and ſupplied it with a great deal of learning and critical ſagacity. See his Diſſertation on the *Marmor Sandvicenſe*.

to

to thy commands, and compliance with my own inclinations. And though, like other anatomies, it affords more trouble than entertainment in the execution; yet in the cloſe it produces very uſeful matter of reflection, which might be drawn out by thy activity and addreſs into conſequences of the laſt importance to thy country.

One aim and intention of LYCURGUS was to preſerve the commonwealth, he founded, from civil feuds. To this end he removed every internal cauſe of commotion, by dividing Lacedæmon into thirty thouſand equal lots; and of theſe, nine thouſand are in the hands of the Spartans. The culture of them brings forth a very ample proviſion for the neceſſaries of life; and their care, thou knoweſt, extends not to it's ornaments. The number of citizens correſponds exactly to that of the portions of land, which are never to be increaſed or diminiſhed. Thus not a man in the ſtate being more powerful than another, the legiſlator has left no fuel for future animoſities. By means of ſo excellent a meaſure, and the excluſion of foreign commerce in the abolition of ſilver and gold, he has fixed the republic on the moſt ſolid and unalterable foundation This laſt law, which forbids the current uſe of any except iron or leather money, is conceived with the utmoſt art, and in the ſpirit of a great politician. For, beſides that it hinders the introduction of thoſe vices, that are the ordinary companions of an extenſive trade, had he neglected to eſtabliſh it, he would ſoon have found, notwithſtanding his caution in the *Agrarian*, that ſtill one door was open to ſedition. Without this inſtitution, that law muſt have operated ineffectually; ſince the

the balance of money being diſtinct from that of land, would by the increaſe of riches, in proceſs of time, have exceeded it; ſo that an unequal diſtribution of property remaining, the ſeeds of contention would have remained with it; and whoever had raiſed a large perſonal fortune in traffic, might have been able to diſturb the commonwealth by faction.

The legiſlator, after having prevented all occaſion of tumult from within, imagined they would be able to repel any from without by their union. The Helots, however, have made ſeveral ſtruggles for their liberty: they are a nation of ſlaves, (to which a number of conquered Meſſenians has been added ſome years ſince) and receive the moſt cruel uſage from their maſters. They are of great ſervice in war as well as in the tillage, which is intruſted wholly to their induſtry. Every Spartan is attended by ſeven of them in the field and they have fought ſometimes ſo valiantly, as to have been preſented with a crown of olive and their freedom by the ſtate. Their multitudes are ſo conſiderable, as that now and then in harveſt time, the youth are ordered to go out and maſſacre the reapers, when they are returning from their work in the evening. So infamous and ſavage a cuſtom took it's riſe from the apprehenſion of an inſurrection, and is thought a neceſſary act of policy and ſelf-defence.

As to the magiſtrates of this ſtate, they are few, becauſe it is neither vicious nor populous. Thirty members compoſe the ſenate, which is equal to the kings in power. They are choſen by the votes of the people, not by lot; and continue in office during life, if they ſhew a regard to virtue and the public good; for good morals

morals are eſteemed ſo eſſential a qualification to a ſtateſman, that if a bad citizen gives an opinion, which is generally approved of, it is entered on their journals, as the advice of ſome better man, and not in the name of the mover. No one is admitted into this venerable council under the age of ſixty, nor unleſs he be diſtinguiſhed for his merit, and has offered himſelf a candidate. They are judges in capital cauſes, and take much time to conſider of them, becauſe an error once made in a matter of life and death is not to be amended. They debate on every point of public buſineſs, and propoſe their reſolutions to be confirmed by the aſſembly. They are accountable to none, and all the offices of the ſtate are entruſted to them.

The kings are taken out of the two branches of HERCULES's family. They muſt be educated in the Spartan manner; and no ſmall weight is laid on their bodily perfections, ſuch as tallneſs and ſtrength. For it is not long ſince, that the wiſe ARCHIDAMUS was fined in a round ſum, for marrying a ſhort wife. They told him, "his poſterity would degenerate from their great anceſtor." In the beginning of every month they take a ſolemn oath to maintain the laws. They adminiſter the holy rites, and have a tythe of all ſwine, that none may be wanting for the ſacrifices. They are ſole judges in caſes of adoption and the high-ways. A double portion is aſſigned them at the public meals, where they are required to attend conſtantly, and dine at a ſeparate table: one of them was puniſhed ſome years ago for eating at home with his queen. A palace is appropriated to their uſe, and all outward marks of reſpect

reſpect ſhewn them. Their powers however are very limited in times of peace; for each is ſubject to be tried by his brother king, the ſenate, and the ephori, although they are indulged in appealing to the aſſembly, and ſuch points are determined only after mature deliberation. In war nothing can be more extenſive than their authority. Either of them may be ſent out at the head of the army, and performs all the offices of a general without controul; and though he has counſellors appointed him, it is in his own breaſt to follow their advice, or depart from it. The family and relations of the kings are treated with no more regard than other citizens; but the hereditary right is ſo ſecure, that notwithſtanding the father ſuffers exile for male-adminiſtration, the puniſhment reaches not to the ſon, nor is he excluded from the ſucceſſion.

The people are divided into ſix tribes, and diſtinguiſhed by their dreſſes, ſandals, and way of wearing their hair from all other Græcians. The great popular aſſembly of Laconia is compoſed of thirty thouſand citizens, diſperſed into every city and diſtrict of the country: the leſſer, of the Spartans, which meets on every occaſion, while the other is never called together, except on the important ſubject of peace or war. The place where, they receive the propoſitions of the ſenate, on which they are not ſuffered to debate, lies between the bridge Babyca, and the river Cnacion, near the Perſian trophy. They do buſineſs in the open air, and blame the Athenians for aſſembling in fine buildings, adorned with elegant paintings and ſtatues, becauſe they imagine, that the welfare of the ſtate may often

often ſuffer from ſuch ill placed magnificence, as it tends to captivate the ſenſes, and diſtract the underſtanding, which ought to be better employed. Their deciſions in former times differed ſo much from the ſenate, that POLYDORE and THEOPOMPUS enacted an unconſtitutional law, which has been ſince cancelled, "that whenever the people gave a wrong vote, the kings and ſenate ſhould have a power of over-ruling it." The ſtrength of the people encreaſed to ſuch a degree afterwards, that the ſame THEOPOMPUS was forced to allow them the creation of the four Ephori, who are guardians of their intereſt; and, though deſigned only at firſt to ſhield the people from the ſenate and the kings, have ſince uſurped an abſolute juriſdiction over all. This king was blamed by his queen for conſenting to weaken the royal authority. "But, ſaid he, it will be now more ſolid, and conſequently more laſting." The Ephori continue but one year in place, and no man can be elected into it a ſecond time. They ſuperintend the treaſury, judge in civil cauſes, execute the royal office in the abſence of the kings, preſide at the games and on all feſtivals, as well as in the aſſemblies of the people. They have a ſhare too in the management of the ſenate, and are alone exempted from paying an external reverence to the reigning princes. The authority of recalling generals from the army, or any of the public officers, is veſted in their hands, and in their diſpatches to them they uſe the * ſcytalè, which is an artful man-

* The nature and uſe of the ſcytalè was this; when they gave a general his commiſſion, they took two round pieces of

ner of conveying a letter into foreign countries, without a poſſibility of it's contents being diſcovered, except by the proper perſon. In a word, they are ſo powerful, as to diſpenſe rewards or puniſhments at their pleaſure; and the ſtate is not ſecure from the exerciſe of their tyranny, unleſs they are divided by jealouſies. Theſe are the chief magiſtrates, on whom the motions of the republic depend. And now, CLEANDER, pauſe a moment to admire the wiſdom of LYCURGUS; for the equality of eſtates confines the power of the governors; and the ſlow rotation of honors reſtrains the ambition of the aſpiring. Theſe are the never failing ſources of the Spartan tranquillity.

There are other inferior officers, who inſpect the exerciſes of the youth, the manners of the women, the behaviour of the citizens in public places, and ſettle the prices of goods, and the weights and meaſures of the market.

There are others alſo, who are appointed to take care of ſtrangers and embaſſadors, to diſmiſs them at a con-

of wood in the form of truncheons, alike in thickneſs and length. One they kept themſelves, the other was delivered to him. So, when they had any thing to communicate to him, they cut a long narrow ſcrowl of parchment, and winding it about their ſtaff, one fold cloſe under another, they wrote their buſineſs down the ſides of it. Then they took off the parchment, and ſent it to the officer, who applying it to his own, which exactly reſembled theirs, the folds fell in with one another, as at the writing, and the characters were read with eaſe. Vide Plut. in Vit. Lyſ. & Aul. Gell. L. 17. C. 9.

venient

venient time, and to prevent the Spartans from converſing with them. The Pythii are ſent to conſult the oracle on all emergencies, and are permitted to dine with the kings. One of them conſtantly attends the ſenate. The Hippagretæ are three in number, and elected by the Ephori. It is their buſineſs to ſit at the head of the public tables every day, and ſend a proper ſhare of the meal to thoſe, who abſent themſelves, at a ſacrifice or a chace, the only lawful reaſons of abſenting. They chooſe out three hundred of the braveſt citizens, and form them into a body, which is ſupplied by new ones, as any of them fall in war, or are excluded from the company, becauſe of their age. Theſe are they, who fought with LEONIDAS at Thermopylæ; and the cuſtom of giving them precedence over the reſt of the army was wiſely inſtituted by LYCURGUS, as an admiſſion into it raiſes great emulation among the ſoldiers. In a day of battle they are placed before the king in the centre. PÆDARCHUS ſtood as a candidate a few months ſince to ſupply a vacancy in this troop; and upon finding he was not choſen, he went out from the preſence of the Ephori with much ſeeming gaiety, and in a fit of laughter. They called him back, and enquired the reaſon of it. He anſwered, "he could not help congratulating the ſtate in ſilence, on being poſſeſſed of three hundred braver and better citizens than himſelf." At the laſt Olympic games, another Spartan being asked, whether his victory there would be of any ſervice to him, he replied "yes, for it would recommend him to a ſtation before the king in battle." The ſtatues of the Gods are all in armour, to intimate, that

the people place their confidence in military force. Their ſacrifices are made with uncommon frugality; becauſe they imagine the Deity is more moved by the ſincerity than the incenſe of the worſhipper. The only prayer they offer up at the altar is, that "they may receive good things for their good actions." They bury the dead in the city, and the tombs are placed in the precincts of the temples. All mourning ceaſes in eleven days. No one is allowed an inſcription on his monument, except he dies in the field, in order to appropriate a kind of religious regard to the ſepulchres of the valiant. The neareſt relations of the ſlain judge from thoſe parts of his body, where he has received his wounds, whether he deſerves an honourable interment.

Their treaties of peace are engraven on ſtone-pillars, and annually renewed by a ſolemn deputation ſent to the contracting ſtate. The legiſlator has commanded them to treat the vanquiſhed with lenity, and to forbear plundering the dead bodies. They ſet ſo much an higher value on a victory gained by ſtratagem than by force, that in the former caſe they ſacrifice an ox to MARS, and in the latter no more than a dunghill cock. They pay little attention to fleets, which is the neceſſary conſequence of a want of trade. For the ſame reaſon it is with difficulty they raiſe money for carrying on a war, though they have ſcarce any need of it, ſince every Spartan ſerves in the field at his own expence; and as to the troops of the allies, they are paid by their own maſters. Whenever they have wealth in poſſeſſion, it is preſerved in their temples, or depoſited with their neighbours the Arcadians.

No ſettled number of troops is maintained by this ſtate, and one of their kings being interrogated about it, ſaid, "It was no matter, they were ſufficient to defeat an inſolent enemy." There is ſomething very becoming, as well as very religious, in the ceremonies they uſe in time of war. The king, when he is going out, ſacrifices in his own family to JUPITER ἀγήτως, and the fire remains unextinguiſhed on the altar till his return, when he makes an offering of the ſpoils to the God. Before every action he ſacrifices to the Muſes; then each man puts a garland on his head, combs his hair, and the trumpet ſounds to the onſet. In truth, no ſtate of Greece equals this people in the art of war, for they are perpetually employed in thoſe exerciſes, which are the repreſentation of it.

Thus the Lacedæmonians are a nation of ſoldiers, trained up to a military life, in order to defend their own liberties, without invading the quiet of their neighbours, and to repel the unreaſonable attacks of their enemies, without aiming to be lordly conquerors. So juſt and excellent were the purpoſes of LYCURGUS; but it is the misfortune of this great republic to have avoided an effeminacy, which would be injurious to itſelf only, and to have indulged a luſt of power, which lays waſte mankind; ſo that it carries it's principle of mortality in the very circumſtance, which has raiſed it's glory, and conſtitutes it's ſtrength. The reſtleſs ſpirit of HERCULES is deſcended to the Spartans, and they can by no means content themſelves with mock-ſkirmiſhes, and the idle mimickry of war. Proud of their ſuperiority in the field over the whole world, and of that vigor,

which ariſes from health and temperance, they are deſirous to prove both by their effects, however fatal.

Founded on a ſcheme of entire ſeparation from the manners of other countries, in making foreign acquiſitions, and giving way to their national ambition, they break through the national conſtitution: in ſetting Greece at variance with itſelf, they are working their own as well as the general deſtruction. And, by the ſacred life of ARTAXERXES, (if I foreſee aright,) the day cannot be far diſtant, when every people of the weſt, reduced to miſery and weakneſs by the wounds of civil war, ſhall bend before his arm, ſhall adore the riſing power of our eaſtern ſun, and own the healing influence of his beams.

C.

LETTER CXVIII.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER.

BY this time, Cleander, I am perſuaded, thou conſidereſt the republic of Lacedæmon as an heap of peculiarities; and did not the behaviour of the ſtate itſelf, as well as the teſtimony of all Greece, unite in confirming my account, thou mighteſt be tempted to ſuſpect the credit of it, and perhaps to think the whole a creature of my own imagination. To be ſerious, the Spartan government is ſo remote from the practice of the world, and ſo ſtrongly reclaimed againſt by the voice of nature, that were it not for cuſtom, that ſecond nature, no people upon earth would willingly conform

form to it. The penetrating LYCURGUS foreſaw this; and from his intimate acquaintance with men and things, wiſely judged it impoſſible to fix the form of government, which he gave his countrymen, unleſs he moulded their paſſions to his laws, and interwove an habit of chearful obedience into their very tempers and conſtitution. To this end he was attentive to their education, beyond what has been recorded of the ancient Perſians, and has diſabled every man from enjoying the privileges of a Spartan, who has not gone through the ſeveral parts of the inſtitution. No one is a citizen by birth, except his father and mother are of the city; and as ſoon as an infant is born into a family, the elders of the tribe examine it. They determine, whether it be of a tender or a vigorous make, and accordingly either expoſe or educate it, without reflecting, that a weak conſtitution often ſettles into a ſtate of health; and that nature ſometimes makes amends for a feeble and deformed body, by the ſtrength and beauty of the underſtanding. If the child is approved, he is aſſigned a lot among the citizens, and pronounced capable of bearing public offices. They inure them to hardſhips from the firſt, and the children of the magiſtrates and of private men are clothed and nouriſhed in the ſame manner. At ſeven years old they are put into the claſs of boys, and at the age of eighteen they are numbered among the Ephebi. In the mean time they are taught to go barefoot, live entirely upon fleſh, that they may have large limbs and florid countenances, and are accuſtomed above all to the exerciſe of hunting. At a certain time of the year, ſome of them are laid upon

the altar of DIANA ORTHIA, and ſcourged ſo ſeverely, that they have expired upon the ſpot. But the patience and ſpirit of the boys not only exceeds belief, but even the capacity of human nature in all other countries. The Goddeſs is ſaid to delight in blood and cruelty; and LYCURGUS appointed annually this barbarous ſacrifice at her ſhrine, as well to appeaſe the vengeful temper of the Deity, as to make that ſhrine a monument of Spartan heroiſm. But does it not argue a want of ſenſe, to ſuppoſe any being diſintereſtedly malevolent? Or is it ſo much an exerciſe of courage as enthuſiaſm, to ſuffer quietly the follies and the inſolence of depraved religion? Exclaim then with me, CLEANDER, at the infamous ſcene, and ſhrink with horror on the very mention of ſuch criminal and ill-natured piety.

There is another cuſtom enjoined by law, and practiſed by the boys, which, though ſingular enough, is yet much freer from exception than the laſt; I mean that of ſtealing. As all things in the hands of private perſons are conſidered as belonging to the ſtate, a dexterity of this kind is ſo far from giving offence, that it raiſes the character of the perſon, who excels in it. The boys are encouraged to it, as it habituates them to ſtratagem and military addreſs; and whoever is caught in it, is puniſhed, not for the fact, but his want of vigilance and quickneſs. The ſhocking ſtory of him, who permitted a fox to tear out his bowels, before he would diſcover the theft, is too well known to be enlarged upon. They are bred up in ſtrict reverence of the oldeſt citizens. It is expected, that the latter ſhould reprove them for every fault committed in their ſight,

under

under pain of the ſame penalty. The younger muſt bear theſe reproofs, without reſentment, and with modeſty; and it is required, whenever they are ſeen publicly in the ſtreets, that they ſhould keep their eyes fixed upon the ground, and be guilty of no levity. Nor is it unuſual for thoſe in the higher claſſes to chooſe out certain youths for their favourites. The law enacts, that in ſuch caſes, the Inamoratos ſhall ſuffer for the treſpaſſes of thoſe, whom they protect; and enjoins the reſt, who are not honoured in this manner, to ſuppreſs carefully the riſing of envy. When a lad has been two years among the Ephebi, he is often placed at the head of the claſs of boys, and conducts them in the morning to their martial exerciſes. In the Gymnaſia, the girls contend naked with them in wreſtling, dancing, boxing, and all thoſe ſports, which are aſſigned generally to the province of men. No Spartan is indulged in marrying any woman, except he has vanquiſhed her at theſe games. It is owing to this education, ſo contrary to the female ſoftneſs in moſt nations, that the women of Lacedæmon are eſteemed rough, haughty, and aſſuming. GORGO, the wife of LEONIDAS, was one day asked the reaſon, "why the ladies of her country had ſo great a power over the men." "Becauſe, anſwered ſhe, they alone produce men." 'Twas the opinion of LYCURGUS, that the inclinations of the mother have a ſurprizing effect upon the children, as well as her arts of perſuaſion on the husband. So he has contrived to unite their ſentiments with each other's, and the laws of the republic, by obliging them to a ſimilitude of manners, and training them to warlike exerciſes.

erciſes. Then wonder not, that VENUS is adored in armour by this people. Every citizen muſt marry at the age of thirty; and whoever has contributed four children to the common ſtock, is diſcharged by law from all painful ſervices. The married ladies wear veils, and the unmarried ones appear without any. The former are ſuppoſed to be contented with their preſent husband, and the latter are deſirous to gain one. Virgins are wedded without a dower, and a temporary exchange of wives are allowed in the city. An old man may make over his wife to a younger, and a new bridegroom muſt viſit his ſpouſe by ſtealth. Theſe are the odd paſſages in the connubial laws of Sparta.

The Ephebi are enjoined many hardſhips, while all, who are in the claſs of men, are indulged in an honourable tranquillity, and exemption from thoſe toils. Public lodgings are ſet apart for them; they lie down together on beds of reeds, and are taught never to give way to ſleep from a love of indolence, but merely to refreſh themſelves, and according to the dictates of nature. They uſe no ointments, nor any bath but the river Eurotas. The combats of the Ephebi are extremely fierce; and no man is at liberty to own himſelf conquered. They are forbid to drink, unleſs it be to quench their thirſt; and in order to force them to ſobriety, it is enacted, that in the darkeſt nights, they ſhould go home without torches. Thou may'ſt obſerve, CLEANDER, to what low minuteneſſes the care of LYCURGUS has deſcended, becauſe he well knew, that the manners of a ſtate in trifles are of conſequence to ſupport it's ſtrength.

The

The Spartans eat together in common halls. Each table has a ſelect company; and no man is admitted to any one of them, without the general conſent of the members, who frequent it. This is done with a view to prevent any interruption in the converſation, and that no citizen may be uneaſy at the ſeaſons appointed for relaxation. Every man ſends in a monthly contribution for the maintenance of the entertainments; and it is expected, he ſhould come thither, without having privately feaſted at his own houſe. One inſtance of ſuch luxury, if brought to light, would be attended with infamy. They ſit down without any diſtinction of age, and are waited on by the boys, to whom they preſcribe ſilence. It is not an uncommon thing at theſe times, to put ſubtle queſtions to the youth; and, if they fail of returning a ſhort, clear, pertinent, and ready anſwer, they are puniſhed by the head of the claſs. After dinner, they make ſome of their ſlaves drunk, with a view to inſtil an abhorrence of that crime into their children. The inhumanity of this practice is more odious, than the deſign of it is commendable. The ordinary table talk of the Spartans is remarkably improving. Their diſcourſe turns chiefly on virtue, liberty, a contempt of other nations, their own form of government, the character of their lawgiver, and the hiſtory of their great men. Theſe ſubjects are always uppermoſt in a Spartan's thoughts.

After ſo many particulars recited at large of this people, I flatter myſelf, that thy friendſhip will induce thee to be a little inquiſitive after me. Within a few days I ſhall enter into the claſs of men, as thou mayſt eaſily

ſily gueſs, very highly to my comfort; and to complete me as a citizen, I am lately become a ſharer in the lands of the ſtate; for a Spartan, with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, died ſince my return from Thebes without any relations, and left me the heir to his lot. Believe me, CLEANDER, it was with no reluctance, that I exchanged the ſumptuous cookery, and the feaſts of Aſia, for the black broth and the ſordid diet of this city. Let me confeſs to thee, however, that I called up all the powers of diſſimulation to my help, in counterfeiting an unwilling approbation of thoſe rough ſports, in the Paleſtræ of their youth, where I have acted by turns the part of the victor and the vanquiſhed. But the king's ſervice bears down every conſideration of private convenience in the breaſt of the faithful CRATIPPUS. And when I reflect on the labors of Lacedæmon in profound peace, I admire not at their fondneſs for the comparative repoſe of war; nor is it a virtue in thoſe men to deſpiſe death, who lead a life, of which they have reaſon to be weary.

C.

LETTER CXIX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

DURING the whole courſe of my buſy and dangerous employment, never have I more ardently wiſhed for the company of my old friends, the partners of my ſtudious and ſpeculative years, than I did this morning in the ſacred grove of laurel, which leads from the

the temple to the brow of the hill. Thither I retired, full of the reflections, which this remarkable place muſt ſuggeſt; and how did I regret thoſe charming converſations of our Bactrian ſolitude! Where the venerable SMERDIS would lead the inquiſitive CLEANDER into the higheſt ſubjects, would hear his objections, redreſs his errors, direct his reaſonings, and warm his heart. What new lights are thrown upon a queſtion by thoſe friendly debates! And, for want of ſuch communication, how am I ſtopped every moment in my courſe of thinking, while I am tracing to their original the impoſture and ſuperſtition, which bring to theſe altars the adoration and the wealth of all Greece!

Under theſe diſadvantages, forgive me, gentle Mage, ſhould I fall into miſtakes, or even controvert ſome opinions, which prevail among our eaſtern ſages. For never can I be perſuaded, that the oracles, which we ſee ſcattered all over this land of idolatry, are under the immediate guidance of the great enemy of truth and order; that the knowledge of future events delivered there is an emanation from the impious ARIMANIUS; and that ſuch are the methods, by which he eſtabliſhes the kingdom of error, and diverts the worſhip of mankind from it's only true object. How hard is the ſuppoſition, that the juſt, the benign OROMASDES ſhould ſuffer the human mind, confined and fallible, as he created it, to be thus unequally attacked, thus invincibly deluded? And what a prepoſterous diſpenſation is it, that where he is adored with that purity, which reaſon dictates, and his own prophet has preſcribed, no ſuch divine communications are vouchſafed; while he per-

mits the book of fate to be opened near every venerable grove and romantic fountain in Greece, for the purpoſes of impiety and ſuperſtition!

But we need not fear any ſuch concluſion. OROMASDES ſpeaks to all men by the great voice of reaſon and nature, and to the purer eaſt by his ſacred volume. By theſe ways the ſupreme Wiſdom teaches us, what we are concerned to know; and we cannot expect to be indulged in the vain curioſity of foreſeeing what cannot be prevented. Nor is ARIMANIUS to be charged with revealing thoſe ſecrets. From all I could obſerve in this ſeat of divination, we are not to recur to any preternatural power. Blind devotion and artful management will explain the whole myſtery; and men are deceived but by men.

As ſoon as one begins to aſcend the ſacred mountain, every thing appears adapted to inſpire a religious horror. The ancient trees hanging over the rock on each ſide the temple, and the rock itſelf opening into a rude kind of ſemicircle, whoſe ecchoes increaſe the confuſed voices, and the ſound of the trumpets, which always make part of the ceremony, the magnificence of the buildings, and the richneſs and elegance of the conſecrated gifts, ſufficient of themſelves to ſtrike the imagination, are particularly pointed out, and exaggerated by a ſet of men, whoſe buſineſs it is to wait upon ſtrangers; and who, I obſerved, endeavoured to lead them into ſome account of themſelves, and the circumſtances, which brought them to conſult the God.

After duly performing the various ſacrifices and purifications, without which the temple is not to be approached,

proached, they are conducted thither; their head muffled up in their garments, and trumpets blowing all round them, that no ſight or ſound of evil omen may interrupt the proceſſion. This indeed makes a moſt ridiculous appearance; and what with the ſolemnity, the noiſe, and the uneaſy poſture they walk in, they are quite fatigued and confounded by the time they get to the cell, where they wait with their queſtions in their hands. While they are in this devout expectation, they are ſometimes refreſhed with the moſt fragrant odors iſſuing from the inmoſt receſſes of the temple. As this is a token of the Deity's peculiar favor, it ſcarce ever happens, but when ſome perſon of conſequence is among the ſuppliants.

In the mean time water is brought to the Pythia from the Caſtalian fountain, and ſhe chews the leaves of the ſacred laurel, to prepare her for the prophetic office. Immediately ſhe ruſhes into the ſanctuary, her hair diſhevelled, her color changed, her eyes rolling, foaming at the mouth, and with all the marks of fury and diſtraction. She throws down the cenſers and the laurel-branches, that ſtand in her way; and at laſt is ſeated upon the tripod by the attending prieſts, and delivers the anſwer of the God in a loud and hollow voice.

Thou wilt imagine, I muſt be attentive to ſo extraordinary a ſpectacle; and every circumſtance brought to my mind the tradition, they have here, about the firſt diſcovery of the prophetic cave, over which the tripod is placed. Some goats, they tell us, browzing upon the edge, ſuddenly fell into a kind of madneſs, leaping and making ſtrange noiſes. The goatherd ran

to

to the cave, and, looking down into it, was ſeized in the ſame manner; his features were diſtorted, and the tone of his voice altered, juſt as it happens to the Pythia, and the ſpirit of divination came upon him. This ſurely points out to us a phyſical ſolution: we know the vapors ariſing from different parts of the earth have very ſenſible effects upon the human body. There are exhalations, that cauſe inſtant death; there are caverns, that ſtupify for a time: and may not the Caſtalian fountain, running through the ſame ſoil, partake of the ſame qualities? May not the laurel too promote the epileptic ſymptoms? Such is the nature of that plant, according to the obſervation of HIPPOCRATES; and hence perhaps it is dedicated to APOLLO, the author of enthuſiaſm, and bears a principal part in all the rites of divination. Theſe are inſtances, where the paroxyſm has been ſo violent, that even the ſacred miniſters were terrified, and left the Pythia to herſelf; and not long ſince ſhe died in the operation, having taken probably too ſtrong a doſe. Beſides, on any other principles, what can this fury mean? Can it ſerve any purpoſe, but that of amuſing and confounding the multitude? Can a mad-man ſee further into futurity than one in his ſenſes? And ſhould not the mind in it's undiſturbed ſtate be fitteſt to converſe with a ſuperior intelligence?

How different is the diſpoſition of the holy men, amongſt whom thou reſideſt! Abſtracted indeed from the world, but not unfit for it, not heated by paſſion, nor ſunk into melancholy, they are prepared to receive the divine influence; and if ſuch influence, after the copious ſtreams ſhed upon our great lawgiver, ſtill de-

ſcends

ſcends upon the ſons of men, it muſt be upon theſe his ſucceſſors. The effects at leaſt are worthy ſo ſublime an original. Theſe ſages are not employed in giving doubtful anſwers to trifling or impious queſtions, in encouraging a curioſity deſtructive both of happineſs and virtue; but in one great ſcheme of benevolence and inſtruction, in correcting the miſtaken, ſuccouring the unfortunate, pointing out the great truths of morality, and leading the way to the practice of it.

Formerly the oracles were all delivered in verſe; but they were generally in ſo bad a taſte, and ſometimes ſo lame and irregular, that, as the age grew more critical, they could not be borne any longer. It was too plain an abſurdity, that HOMER and HESIOD ſhould be greater maſters of the art than the God of poetry, who inſpired them; and therefore he now uſually ſpeaks in proſe. But to preſerve the ancient form, there is a band of poets ready, who reduce the anſwers into meaſure, and may be uſeful alſo to give them ſenſe and coherence upon occaſion.

Not that ſenſe and coherence are always thought neceſſary. The God adapts himſelf to the genius of his votaries; and to thoſe, who admire moſt what they leaſt underſtand, he condeſcends to give words without a meaning, from which they ſeldom fail to pick out ſomething applicable to their wiſhes or their fears. A certain degree indeed of obſcurity is eſſential to every oracle; it becomes the dignity of the power, who diſpenſes them; and it were profane to expoſe the divine ſecrets too plainly to the unhallowed vulgar. Thus does ſuperſtition impoſe upon itſelf, and leaves fraud and con-

trivance little to do. Not but in thoſe caſes, where more caution is required, the fineſt artifices are employed to ſupport the credit of the temple: the way of life, the paſſions, the expectations, the very countenance of the conſultor is attended to. Where the probability lies ſtrongly on one ſide of the queſtion, the anſwer inclines that way. Generally it is ſo adjuſted, as tolerably to ſuit either event; and where public buſineſs is the ſubject, and more eyes are turned upon it, there it is particularly involved and ambiguous. The Delphic ſhrine, however, has the reputation of ſpeaking plainly; and the reſt of the prophetic Gods and heroes, and even APOLLO himſelf from his other temples, ſend their worſhippers hither, to get their revelations farther revealed.

While I was ſurveying the ſacred treaſury, and obſerved almoſt in every room ſome coſtly offering of CROESUS, I could not but pity that unfortunate prince, whoſe dependance on this very oracle loſt him his crown. And when a Spartan of the company was ſhewing me the tablet, whereon is engraved the famous anſwer given to LYCURGUS, I pointed to CROESUS's golden lion, and ſaid, "See there a memorial of a different nature, The God, who gave a ſanction to the conſtitutions of your lawgiver, ſent the no leſs devout Lydian monarch on an expedition, that ruined him; and, as he eſtabliſhed one government, he overturned another."

The greateſt number, and the moſt valuable of the preſents were, I took notice, of the ſame age with thoſe laſt mentioned. The multitude indeed ſtill flocks to theſe altars; and the ſtates of Greece on every great occaſion

occaſion of conqueſt or deliverance, ſtill dedicate a ſtatue or erect a trophy. But the men of underſtanding and conſequence no longer repoſe that truſt in the deciſions from Delphi, which their anceſtors uſed to do. The inſtances of influence and corruption, which theſe later times have afforded, muſt indeed be ſufficient to open their eyes, and put an end to ſo ſlaviſh a prejudice. The portico of Parian marble, which adorns the front of the temple, was the price of driving the Piſiſtratidæ out of Athens; and the ſtory of HIPPIAS is not yet forgotten at the Perſian court, who uſed to complain, that while the oppoſite faction had the care of the ſacred buildings, the Spartans, who conſulted the oracle (whatever their queſtions were) had always the ſame anſwer returned them, "that they ſhould reſtore liberty to Athens." The like intereſted motives prevailed upon the Pythia, Perialla, to pronounce DEMARATUS illegitimate; and we have heard the old men of XERXES's court deſcribe the ſatisfaction the exiled king expreſſed, when he heard at Thermopylæ, that the impious prieſteſs was convicted and deprived. The taſte, that begins to prevail all over this country for real ſcience, and the free debates upon the great principles of nature and religion, which are held at Athens particularly, will go on to expoſe the impoſture; and I foreſee, without conſulting the God, that in the next age his prophecies will be ridiculed, and his altar deſerted.

One word more, to obviate a prejudice relating to this oracle, which is ſpread over the eaſt. The panic, which ſeized the troops of XERXES, when they came

near Delphi, has been wonderfully magnified. Thunders are ſaid to have burſt from Parnaſſus, and ſtones to have rolled down it's ſides in defence of the holy place. The attempt upon it indeed miſcarried; but the ſame army plundered and burnt a ſumptuous temple of the ſame Deity at Abæ, which, it ſhould ſeem, he was equally concerned to protect.

May we, holy Mage, be content with, and make the beſt uſe of the preſent time; this is the method to lay in happineſs for futurity. The wiſe and gracious OROMASDES has given us a prudence and ſagacity, ſufficient for the common events of life; and where the proſpect is clouded, and out of the reach of our view, we may ſafely truſt ourſelves in thoſe hands, from whence we came, and whither we are to return. It is ridiculous to hope for information from above upon every trifle; and a traveller through Greece muſt remark, that oracles are much the moſt frequent in Bœotia, which is by no means the country of wits or philoſophers.

W.

LETTER CXX.

TELEPHANES to CLEANDER. From Perſepolis.

WHILE I enjoy, CLEANDER, an honourable ſubſiſtence in the court of ARTAXERXES, it would ſhew great ingratitude in me not to acknowledge, that the ſource of all my good fortune was from thee. During the ſhort time I have been in Perſia, I have borne a ſhare in the public mourning, and loſt a generous patron

patron in MEGABYZUS. He received me with great humanity, and was pleaſed with the * deſign I had drawn for a repoſitory of that valuable collection, which thou ſenteſt him out of Greece. The materials were in readineſs for beginning the work, if his death had not prevented it. But I was ſo fortunate as to be made known, through his recommendation, to the other ſatraps of this magnificent court, and even to the great king; and a little before MEGABYZUS's death was promoted to an employment under OTANES, ſuperintendant of the royal palaces. The province aſſigned me was to carry on the ornaments of the ſplendid palace of Perſepolis, to which improvements have been made by every ſucceeding prince from CYRUS, who is eſteemed the founder. To pay the laſt reſpect to my excellent benefactor, I came hither in the mournful retinue, which attended his obſequies; I ſaw him here entombed in the *royal mount*, among the graves of the Perſian monarchs. About four hundred foot diſtance from the citadel, the ſame rock of black marble, on which that is ſituated, riſes to a conſiderable height; and in it are cut many cells and apartments, but into them no living perſon ever deſcends, and the coffins are let down by machines from the top.

There is a ſtate and magnificence in the ſtructure and ſituation of this palace, that ſtrikes every beholder with pleaſure and amazement. It ſtands north eaſt of the city, commanding that ſpacious valley, through which runs the river Araxes. The rock for threeſcore acres appears to have been cut into form, with immenſe coſt

* See Letter LXXXVIII. Vol. II.

and toil, for the foundation of this marvellous pile. Nothing can be more ſtately than the double flight of ſtairs, which carries up to the firſt platform of the palace by ninety five ſteps from the plain below. The ſteps are ſo commodiouſly contrived, and of ſuch a breadth from one ſide to the other, that twelve horſemen may with great eaſe ride up a-breaſt. The aſcent to the upper court is by a ſecond flight of ſtairs, with a large landing half way, after the manner of the firſt. The ſides of the rock both to the lower and upper platform are cut in a perpendicular ſteep, and ornamented with figures in relievo; thoſe upon the firſt in a rude groteſque ſtile; but thoſe upon the ſides of the ſecond, which repreſents a proceſſion and ſacrifice after a victory, are performed in a better taſte. The citadel at the eaſt end of the palace is encircled with three walls each riſing above the other; the firſt ſixteen cubits high, the ſecond twice that height, and the laſt threeſcore. They are entered by ſeven gates of burniſhed braſs. From the ſummit of this citadel there is a moſt extenſive proſpect, circumſcribed only by the heavens themſelves. There is not in theſe Aſiatic buildings the ſame ſymmetry and proportion, which we ſo much boaſt of in Greece; but there is in them ſomething more great and ſtupendous, than can perhaps reſult from the more regular deſigns of art. It cannot always be ſaid, that the workmanſhip ſurpaſſes the materials; and yet the labour, that has been employed in the ſeveral parts, is incredible. The buildings upon the upper platform are of Porphyry; which, notwithſtanding the hardneſs of the ſtone, is inlaid in many places with a great variety

of

of other coſtly marbles, repreſenting in Moſaic human figures, landskips, beaſts and flowers. The inner walls of the ſtate apartments are of black marble ſo exquiſitely poliſhed, that they reflect every object like a ſteel mirror, which extremely heightens the luſtre of the gold upon the freeze, corniſhes, and flutings of the pillars. The famous vine in the king's bed-chamber, which ſpreads it's branches over the royal bed, is, in my opinion, better deviſed than executed. The ſtalk and branches are of burniſhed gold, and the cluſters of orient pearl mixed with rubies of great value. The bedſtead likewiſe is of gold, and the footſtool alone eſtimated at three thouſand talents. The ſtate in the preſence-chamber is ſupported with four columns of the ſame metal thick-ſet with precious ſtones; and the coverings are of purple embroidered with various colors.

In the bas reliefs about this palace are repreſented moſt of the civil and religious ceremonies of the Perſians, and, under proper emblems, the doctrines of the Magi. I was amazed to ſee upon one of the walls an image of monſtrous ſhape, with many arms, like the Briareus of the Græcian poets, till I diſcovered, that ARIMANIUS, the firſt principle of all evil, was meant by it.

There is near the entrance of the great hall a jaſper tablet, twenty foot in height from the ground, inſcribed with myſterious characters. The kind of writing is known to few. Some have attributed the invention of it to an eminent ſage called BELTESHAZZER, who was ſatrap of the province of Babylon under the later Aſſyrian kings, and bore conſiderable honors, after the diſſolution of the empire, in the courts of CY-

AXARES and CYRUS. From an Hebrew captive he was raiſed to a ſtate of ſovereign dignity, for his extraordinary wiſdom, and uncommon endowments. It is recorded of him, that he was poſſeſſed of a ſpirit of divination, and exactly foretold the great revolutions, that happened in thoſe times. His knowledge extended itſelf to all thoſe ſciences and arts, that tend to enlarge the mind and embelliſh life; and what makes me mention him with the greater fondneſs is this, that he not only encouraged the improvement of arts in others, but was a maſter in ſeveral of them, and particularly in architecture. Some ſtrokes of his genius, I am told, appear in the plan and ſtructure of this palace; and a conſiderable part of that at Suſa, where he long reſided, was built by him. It is a moſt finiſhed deſign, and ſhews his ſingular good taſte in building. To this BELTESHAZZER, ſome maintain, the peculiar ſimplicity of the Perſian worſhip is owing; and ZOROASTER, they ſay, had never appeared as a reformer of the Magian principles, if BELTESHAZZER had not firſt been. The royal favor, by which he was eminently diſtinguiſhed under the new monarch after the taking of Babylon, having created him the envy of the other ſatraps, they plotted to deſtroy him by obtaining a decree from CYAXARES of ſuch a nature, as they knew the religion of the Jews, which he firmly adhered to, would inevitably oblige him to tranſgreſs. The king having inadvertently ſigned the decree, could not ſave him without weakening his own authority; and the penalty for tranſgreſſing required, that he ſhould be expoſed to lions. The ſtory is ſet forth in ſculpture

upon an inner wall of this palace, where the king is ſeated in ſtate with the inſignia of royalty; and a priſoner brought in chains before him, who by the ſolemnity of the proceeding appears to be a perſon of eminence. For on one ſide the throne are ranged the grandees of his court; and on the other the magi; and a ſelect number of prieſts and nobles are withdrawn apart, and ſeem to expoſtulate with one another concerning the priſoner. Under theſe is placed a guard of ſix ranks of pikes, both men and arms in full proportion. With great unwillingneſs CYAXARES gave up his able and faithful counſellor. He was ſhut up in a cave of lions. But thoſe ſavage animals had no power over him, and after having remained a night in this confinement, he was taken out unhurt, to the great confuſion of his enemies. This confirmed the king in the opinion, which he entertained before of his ſanctity, and convinced all men that BELTESHAZZER was a perſon peculiarly favored by the Gods. As a memorial of this ſtory there are, within an arch near the paſſage leading to the ſubterranean apartments, the figure of a man with long hair, to ſhew the eminent rank of the perſon, and a lion lying tamely at his feet, in ſign of this miraculous eſcape. This is obvious enough. But more of the ſculpture upon theſe walls is in the hieroglyphic way altogether wrapt up in ſymbols. To form theſe ſymbols, they make uſe not only of natural animals, but chimerical and fabulous ones; as beaſts with wings, and birds with four feet. Theſe are images of the ſeveral ſtates and empires, that are or have been. The Aſſyrian monarchy is figured by a winged lion with a crown upon

it's

it's head, implying the quick progreſs of it's conqueſts. Thus the ram being the royal enſign of Perſia, the ram's head, ſeen upon the pillars here with horns one higher than the other, was expreſſive of the Medo-Perſian empire. By the combats and fierce encounters of the natural or fictitious animals are ſet forth the wars of different countries, and the events of thoſe wars determining the fate of empires. There is likewiſe an hieroglyphic language uſed in the writings of the eaſtern ſages, which bears, I am told, a ſtrict analogy to this ſculptured imagery. * * * * *Deſunt cætera.*

L.

LETTER CXXI.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. From Delphi.

I Thought it would be unpardonable, while I continued in the land of oracles, to neglect paying a viſit at the cave of TROPHONIUS, which is attended even with a greater variety of ſtrange circumſtances than the ſhrine at Delphi, and differs in the myſterious terror of it's ceremonies from all others in the world. On mentioning the ſcheme to my companions, they readily cloſed in with it. PROCLES and I contrived, each of us, to form a queſtion, which we might propoſe, when we arrived there; and engaged old ARCHIAS to reſerve one of his family-doubts for the reſolution of the Demi-God. We journied in a few days from Delphi to Lebadea; and on one ſide of the town, entered a very beautiful and romantic foreſt, which they call the * grove of TROPHONIUS. The river Her-

* Pauſan. Bœotic.

cynna

cynna winds through it. On the ſide of a riſing ground ſtands the temple, ſupported by brazen pillars; in the midſt of it is the entrance into the prophetic cavern. We furniſhed ourſelves with ſome cakes dipt in honey, and narrow ladders, according to our inſtructions; and proceeded in good order up the hill. Early in the morning the prieſts met us in their formalities at the door of a building dedicated to Good Fortune, where we were commanded to remain ſome hours. They asked, what were our reſpective difficulties; and told us, we muſt make an offering to APOLLO, SATURN, JUPITER, JUNO and CERES. Victims were brought out with all ſpeed; and the bowels being inſpected, it was declared the Deity would be favourable; and then we were invited to make a repaſt out of the leavings of the altar. I took the freedom to enquire, if any other rites muſt be performed, before we were permitted to deſcend. The holy men, who waited on us, looked at me with ſuch indignation, that I began to find I had made a falſe ſtep. One of them immediately entered into ſo large a detail of luſtrations and expiations, which were neceſſary for paſt offences, that I would have given a thouſand Darics to have been that moment ſacrificing a Bactrian ox in the Mithriac cell, rather than that this idle curioſity ſhould have drawn me into a perplexing farce, ſo inconſiſtent with the genius of true religion. At the cloſe of the evening, we were informed, it was time to break off our divine meditations, and walk down to the river, conducted by two boys about thirteen years of age. In the mean time the prieſts buſied themſelves in offering a ram to AGAMEDES,

MEDES, on whoſe auſpicious aſpect depends the ratification of the former omens. As we were undreſſing to bathe, PROCLES, with his uſual vivacity, whiſpered me, that "he was amazed how one conſultor of an oracle could look upon another without laughing." That ceremony ended, two doſes of water were adminiſtred to each of us; the one called Lethè, to drown the remembrance of thoſe things, which ſo lately were the greateſt part of our concerns; and the other Mnemoſynè, to make us retain the memory of whatever was to be exhibited in our deſcent. No body but ARCHIAS could bear theſe draughts with a pious reſignation. My head was ſo intoxicated with them, that I was in a fit condition to receive every thing the prieſts ſhould tell me, and to enter the cave with a religious kind of horror. After an obeiſance or two to a fine ſtatue of DÆDALUS's workmanſhip, we were arrayed in linen habits adorned with ribbons, and the venerable Theban ſtept forward to the mouth of the cave. He was rolled into it, and continued there for an hour. When he came out, (which was with his feet foremoſt,) the natural gravity of my friend's face ſeemed heightened into an inflexible dulneſs. He was preſently conveyed to the ſeat of Mnemoſynè, and having related what he had ſeen and heard very confuſedly, he was conducted into the temple of Good Fortune, where he was adviſed to ſtay, till he ſhould be reſtored to his former ſenſes. PROCLES and I were ſo aſtoniſhed at this appearance, that I believe the terror of entering into the cell made an alteration in our looks, almoſt equal to that, which might be expected on returning from it.

it. However, it was too late to withdraw. PROCLES went through all the forms in the ſame manner with ARCHIAS; and when he roſe again above ground, he was no more the lively, the humorous companion I had converſed with; every laughing feature was ſtruck out of his countenance. My turn being next, though I knew the whole to be an impudent impoſture, yet it occurred to me, there muſt be ſomewhat contagious in it, ſince PROCLES had the ſame ſentiments; and, if it had been poſſible, the good ſenſe of the man would have ſaved him from this extraordinary ſtupefaction. In great anxiety therefore I deſired leave to ſpeak with my acquaintance, that had gone through the operation, but was hurried into the cave without a moment's pauſe. When I fell down, I was beſet on the ſudden with a miſt, and not having underſtanding enough to be certain, whether I was awake or in a dream, conjecture, that I received a blow upon the head, which ſtunned me. Soon after I fancied, that * I ſaw an immenſe gap reſembling an hollowed ſphere. It had a darkneſs, not ſtill, but thick and agitated. I ſhook at the dreadful noiſes of beaſts, and groans of men and women, that iſſued from an unfathomable depth. At laſt all was huſhed, and a ſmall voice pronounced ſome obſcure words, by way of anſwer to my interrogatories, that

* See Plut. p. 590. Vol. II. Par. 1624. In his Treatiſe of SOCRATES's Dæmon, where one TIMARCHUS, deſirous to be inſtructed in the nature of it, is ſaid to have viſited TROPHONIUS, and ſeen an allegorical viſion, which is related and explained at large.

are

are not worthy to be blotted on my paper. As ſoon as the voice ceaſed, I was dragged out of the cell, paſſed a ſevere examination, and having refreſhed myſelf in the temple, we, the next morning at break of day, took our leave of TROPHONIUS and his prieſts.

In my way back to Delphi, I made a vow by the hallowed groves of our prophet, that I would not again torture my imagination to find queſtions for an oracle, convinced more than ever, that a man's own ſagacity is the only Dæmon to be truſted in real difficulties.

Whence it proceeds, ORSAMES, I cannot tell, but there is ſomething in darkneſs, that calls up the fears, and diſturbs the chearfulneſs of human nature. For which reaſon, I am often offended at thoſe, who repreſent a ſecret grot, or a gloomy cavern, as the immediate place of his preſence, whoſe moſt perfect emblem is the radiant MITHRAS, expoſed for ever in the glorious concave of the heavens, to engage the eyes and worſhip of the rational part of his creation.

C.

LETTER CXXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS chief ſcribe.

I No ſooner received information, that the plague, which has raged the whole ſummer at Athens with great violence, was conſiderably abated, than I determined to ſet out on my return thither; and as the roads at that ſeaſon of the year are much infeſted with parties of ſoldiers both of the Peloponneſian and Athenian allies;

allies, I took hold of an opportunity, which fortune threw in my way, to join the train of CALLIAS and NAUSICLES, the Athenian deputies to the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, who were preparing for their journey home at the ſame time with myſelf. I experienced the good effects of travelling under their protection; for, upon the borders of the territories of Attica, we fell in with a party of Bœotian light horſe, who were ſcouring the country: the deputies immediately ſent to acquaint the commanding officer with their character, which by the law of nations, and the general practice of the Greeks, was ſufficient to ſecure them, and their retinue, from any arreſt or vexation in their paſſage. The officer behaved with great politeneſs on this occaſion, and prevented by his authority the violence, with which the rough ſoldiers, greedy of ſpoil, were preparing to lay us under contribution. The reſt of our journey paſſed without any remarkable incident. The morning after our arrival CALLIAS and NAUSICLES made a report, firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards before the aſſembly of the people, of their behaviour in the Amphictyonic council, as repreſentatives of the commonwealth of Athens. They gave in the roll of contributions, which were laid upon all the Græcian ſtates for the enlargements and repairs of the temple of Delphi, and the particular ſum, which Athens was obliged to furniſh towards her part in carrying on ſo pious a work. They related a ſpeech made by the deputies of Corinth againſt the Athenians, for erecting a chapel in the temple of Delphi, in memory of the battle near Naupactus; which concluded with a motion, that a fine ſhould be ſet upon them by

by the Amphictyons, for the celebrating victories of the Greeks over each other, in the ſame place, where their conqueſts over Barbarians alone were conſecrated to poſterity. But NAUSICLES exerted himſelf with ſuch activity in oppoſition to it, by ſhewing, amongſt other things, that the Athenians had done nothing unprecedented, but only followed the example of the Bœotians, who erected ſtatues in the ſame temple, after the defeat of the Athenians at Tanagra, that the Corinthians were forced to drop their motion. When the report was finiſhed, the people unanimouſly approved what had been done in their name by CALLIAS and NAUSICLES, and likewiſe decreed them crowns of gold, for their vindication of Athens againſt the unjuſt aſperſions of the Corinthians. Their embaſſy expired with the uſual compliment of being invited to a public entertainment in the Prytanæum.

The plague is by this time entirely ceaſed; and indeed it abated gradually with the heats of the ſummer. I aſked HIPPOCRATES, what number he thought it had deſtroyed: he told me, by the moſt exact computation he could make, it had carried off no leſs than four thouſand four hundred citizens (not to mention ſtrangers) amongſt whom the order of the Hippeis had loſt three hundred for their ſhare. So terrible a depopulation, one ſhould think, noble ſcribe, would inſpire this ſtate with humble and moderate ſentiments, and a deſire of reſtoring the tranquillity of Greece. But this is ſo far from being the caſe, that their ſpirits are more raiſed than ever, by a relation ſent hither by DEMOSTHENES of a defeat, which the Acarnanians and Argives, under his

his conduct, have given to the Ambracians and Peloponneſians under that of EURYLOCHUS.

The Ambracians having entered Acarnania with eight thouſand heavy armed foot, took poſſeſſion of a fort called Olpis, which is built on the top of a hill not far from the ſea. There EURYLOCHUS joined them with a body of Peloponneſians, who, by marching through by-ways, eſcaped the vigilance of ſome Acarnanian troops, that lay in wait to intercept them. A few days after this junction, a ſquadron of twenty Athenian ſhips appeared in the gulph of Ambracia, and DEMOSTHENES with an army of Acarnanians and Argives, (to whom were added three hundred Meſſenians and ſixty Athenian archers) came up, and pitched his camp in ſight of the enemy. The two armies remained quiet two days, but early on the 16th began an engagement, that laſted till evening. DEMOSTHENES with great judgment foreſeeing, where the ſtreſs of the action muſt lie, placed four hundred Peltaſtai or Targetiers in a hollow way covered with buſhes, which extended itſelf along the flank of his right wing. The enemy's left making a motion to ſurround him, met with a vigorous reſiſtance in front, and was charged at the ſame time ſo briskly in the rear by the ambuſcade, that, after a ſhort diſpute, they threw down their arms, and fled. EURYLOCHUS himſelf was killed in endeavouring to rally his men. In another part of the field the enemy's right wing, compoſed chiefly of Ambracians, who are reckoned the moſt warlike people in thoſe parts, broke the left of DEMOSTHENES, and puſhed it to the walls of Argos; but returning in diſorder from

the purſuit, the Athenian general advanced againſt them with his victorious troops, and obliged them to take refuge within the walls of Olpis. The next morning MENEDATUS, who ſucceeded EURYLOCHUS in the command, propoſed to DEMOSTHENES to ſurrender the fortreſs, upon condition, that he ſhould be permitted to retire with the Peloponneſian forces only; which the latter conſented to, with a view of rendering the Lacedæmonians odious amongſt their allies for deſerting the Ambracians. DEMOSTHENES, after ſetting up a trophy, and burying his dead, decamped with his army, to oppoſe the remainder of the Ambracian forces, who, he had received intelligence, were marching to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen. He found them engaged in the ſtreights of Idomene, where his ſuperior skill in the art of war, and a perfect knowledge of the country, enabled him to gain a complete victory. For having ſent a detachment to ſeize the paſſages of the mountains, he marched with the reſt along the great road, and beat up the Ambracian quarters ſo ſuddenly, that the outguards made but very little reſiſtance; the reſt were ſoon routed, and a miſerable ſlaughter made of them. Thoſe, who attempted to eſcape, were killed or taken by the Acarnanian parties, who had beſet the ways. Others, rather than ſurrender to their worſt enemies, choſe to caſt themſelves into the ſea, and ſwim for ſafety to the Athenian ſhips, which were cruiſing on that coaſt. In ſhort, on this occaſion the republic of Athens has acquired great glory. Her general (who in token of his victories has ſent hither two hundred ſuits of armour) recovered his reputation; and the Ambracians

cians received irreparable damages. DEMOSTHENES adds in his letters, that this ſucceſs might be attended with greater advantages; but that the Acarnanians, preferring their old neighbourhood to that of an Athenian colony, are on the point of concluding an accommodation with the Ambracians, at which this ſtate is with good reaſon diſſatisfied.

Thou may'ſt imagine, potent lord, I was not a little ſurprized at the arrival of ZOPYRUS here from Epheſus in a Phœnician ſhip. What inducement he has had to ſeek the Athenian protection, after quitting the Perſian court in ſo abrupt a manner, I am unable to diſcover; but in his daily converſation, he throws off every mark of duty and allegiance to his ſovereign, by ſetting forth the facility of ſeizing ſome advantageous port in the Perſian dominions, and proffering his ſervice to conduct a colony of Athenians to any, which it may be thought proper to make an attempt upon. From the opinion, which the better ſort of citizens have formed of his character, and their unwillingneſs to entangle themſelves in diſputes with the great king at a juncture, when the war now on foot demands their whole attention, I ſhould conjecture, that this republic will enter into none of his projects. But whether the hopes of gain may not allure private adventurers to embark with him in ſome deſperate enterprize, I ſhall not pretend to determine. However thou may'ſt depend on the earlieſt notice of his motions; and I think PYTHON ſhould be talked to on this ſubject. That miniſter ſent hither pretty early information of the army and fleet preparing in the Perſian provinces; and by the decrees

paſſed in the aſſembly before my return from Delphi, he will be furniſhed with ſufficient materials for a conference. I am well aſſured, that the ſenate have taken great alarm at ſome ſecret advices from their emiſſaries in Thebes and Sparta. Some of the principal members, with whom I converſe, intimate their ſuſpicions, that the Lacedæmonians will not be ſo ſcrupulous as themſelves, about giving up the Greek cities in Aſia, becauſe the Ionian colonies are related to the Athenians by extraction. And indeed as the Perſian miniſtry have in all their negotiations laid great ſtreſs on this point, an alliance with Lacedæmon would be the moſt deſirable meaſure. At the ſame time, whatever views they may have about extending the commerce of the empire, and rendering the iſlands in the Egean ſea dependent upon the monarch of Aſia, will be beſt anſwered by weakening the naval ſtrength of the Athenians.

The elections for magiſtrates were over as uſual on the 1ſt of the month Hecatombeon; they have gone chiefly in CLEON's favor. Thou wilt perceive by a liſt of them, which I ſend encloſed, that PHILOCRATES is choſen firſt Archon, and CLEON, NICIAS, EURYMEDON, SOPHOCLES, and four others, generals for the year enſuing. The two laſt of thoſe abovenamed are going with a fleet of forty ſhips to the relief of the Corcyreans, whoſe exiles have lately fortified themſelves in the mountains, and lay waſte the country with fire and ſword.

Noble ſcribe, if my nephew CHARICLES of Epheſus, who will deliver this diſpatch into thy hands, ſhould find favor in thy ſight, I ſhall reckon it the greateſt happineſs,

happineſs, that can befall him. He is a young man of prudence, activity, and addreſs; whom thou wilt find not unintelligent in the affairs of Greece, and extremely deſirous to be ranked amongſt thy dependents. Leſs than this I could not ſay of him, becauſe of his real merit; and were I to add more, his near relation to me might appear to have blinded my judgment in his favor.

From Athens. P.

LETTER CXXIII.

CLEANDER to BAGOAS, chief eunuch in the Palace of ARTAXERXES.

THOU, who haſt ſpent thy life within those walls, where reſides perpetual tranquillity, and none but the ſofter paſſions are allowed to enter, would'ſt be but little entertained by a long detail of a puzzling treaty, or the view of a bloody field, where the lives of thouſands have been ſacrificed to the ambition of their leaders. But thou wilt hear with pleaſure of the ſucceſs of my negotiations in the traffic of beauty, and the fair victims I have collected from every quarter of Greece, for the Fane of Love, where thou preſideſt. In my late journies over this country I have ſtill been attentive to thy commiſſion; and I will venture to affirm, that I have now embarked for Epheſus thirty as accompliſhed virgins, as ever adorned the inner chambers of the palace. How will thy wrinkles, venerable eunuch, ſoften into a ſmile, when thou receiveſt them from their covered chariots at the ſecret gate? Amongſt

the orange trees upon the ſteps of the marble fountain, thou wilt examine with taſte their different charms; and, after a ſtrict examination, rank them in their ſeveral orders. Happy old man! who cool and unconcerned canſt leiſurely throw thy eyes over ſuch enchanting forms, and feel only the quiet joy of adminiſtring to the pleaſures of thy maſter.

Thou wilt eaſily diſtinguiſh the Ionian beauties from their graceful movements in the dance, and their ſubmitting with leſs reluctance to thy curious regards. The more ſhy Athenians will pleaſe thee by the peculiar ſweetneſs of their accent, and the maſterly manner, in which they touch the lyre. But the blooming iſlanders, the daughters of CHIOS and LESBOS, will ſtrike thee moſt by the ſymmetry of their features, their long flowing treſſes, their large black eyes, and the elegant magnificence of their dreſs.

To contraſt theſe, there are three more northern beauties from the banks of Strymon, with fair complexions and golden hair. There is one thou muſt look upon as a curioſity; a Spartan, daughter of one of the Ephori, whom my friend, the Trierarch PHILOCLES, carried off in a deſcent upon the coaſt of Peloponneſus. CHELONIS expreſſes all the haughtineſs of her country, and her quality, in her countenance; accompanied with a manly kind of beauty, which, though it commands reſpect, by no means excludes love.

The tender LEONTIUM I muſt recommend to thy peculiar care, and beg thou wilt preſent her in my name to the chamberlain HYDASPES. He, who ſhews ſo elegant a taſte in his gardens, his furniture, and his amuſements,

amuſements, is no leſs refined in his more ſecret pleaſures; nor will refuſe to accept this token of my gratitude ſo well ſuited to his delicacy. The ingenuous ſweetneſs of her countenance, and the nobleneſs of her demeanor, prove her to be what her ſtory pretends ſhe is. The pirate of Scyros, who ſold her, and had brought her up, aſſured me, that when he took her in a cruize off Eubœa, ſhe was wrapped up in a rich mantle, and wore a bracelet ſet with gems; but he could learn no particulars relating to her, becauſe the nurſe, and the reſt of her attendants, periſhed in the engagement. Conſcious of the ſtate ſhe is fallen from, ſhe retains an air of melancholy, which my friend's humanity is ſo fitted, and will be ſo pleaſed to diſpel.

The twenty ſlaves, whom I have choſen to attend theſe virgins, are well verſed in the various arts ſo much eſteemed in the palace of the queens. Some form an agreeable concert on all kinds of inſtruments; others are skilful at the loom, and trace out the moſt beautiful patterns for the richeſt embroidery. Others prepare perfumes, and are practiſed to attend at the bath. The three Corinthians I purchaſed out of the houſe of the moſt magnificent courteſan in that city. They are taught all the niceties of dreſs, to braid the hair, to adjuſt the robe, to tie the ſandal, and know all thoſe curious ſecrets, which heighten or preſerve beauty.

Give me leave to be a little vain upon my having thus added to the number of thy fair ſubjects. Happy ſubjects! under ſuch a guardian; removed from the dangers, to which helpleſs beauty is expoſed, from the perplexing cares of life, the tumultuous ſallies of un-

governed love, and the raging paſſions of diſagreeing rivals, they are placed in the awful ſanctuary of innocence and purity, where the profane cannot enter; they enjoy all the delights of a well-ordered magnificence. Awed by thy diſcipline, made eaſy by thy gentleneſs, their minds are ever ſerene and chearful; their affections ever tempered and regulated; their power of pleaſing is directed to one object; their ideas of happineſs, all their tranſports, center in one lord. When inſtructed by thy leſſons, and purified with * oil of myrrh and ſweet odors, they approach his bed, how are their hearts elated to meet the embraces of a monarch, who can reward their attention to pleaſe him with the revenues of a province! But the fortunate fair, in whom the king delights, who is again ſummoned from the ſecond houſe of the women, partakes the higheſt honors, that a mortal can receive; the bonds of captivity fall inſtantly from her hands, and the imperial Tiara encircles her head. Adieu.

From Athens the 17th of Mæmacterion.

LETTER CXXIV.

GOBRYAS chief ſcribe, &c. to CLEANDER at Athens. From Suſa.

THOU takeſt the ſureſt way to ſilence the calumnies of thy enemies, by continuing to diſcharge the duties of thy employment to the entire ſatisfaction of thoſe, who wiſh thee well; and haſt given the king

* Vide *Eſther* cap. iii.

and

and ſupreme council freſh proofs of thy ſufficiency in buſineſs, by the variety and importance of thy Delphic diſpatches.

The domeſtic tranquillity, which we enjoy at preſent, the good order eſtabliſhed through the ſeveral provinces of the empire, and the flouriſhing condition of our troops and finances, give us leiſure to look abroad, and ſurvey the poſture of affairs in foreign nations. The king, we hope, will ſoon be able to determine, from the negotiations now carrying on, to which ſide of the contending Græcian ſtates the influence of his arms muſt be carried. And how near matters draw towards a concluſion, thou wilt be better able to judge, when I have related to thee the reſult of ſome conferences between myſelf and PYTHON, and the advices lately ſent by CRATIPPUS from Sparta. Not many days ago, PYTHON made me a viſit, and told me, that his republic having received information, that a large body of forces was to aſſemble early in the ſpring near Sardis, had ſent him expreſs orders to obtain a categorical anſwer from the miniſters, as to their deſtination; ſince the people of Athens had reaſon to apprehend, that they were deſigned againſt the Græcian colonies in Aſia, which by CIMON's treaty were rendered independent of Perſia. I replied, that the king, my maſter, from his regard and obſervance of treaties, particularly of one ſo diſadvantageous to himſelf, for a courſe of many years, had not deſerved, without ſtrong grounds, to be ſuſpected of an intention to violate them: that I could not help thinking this peremptory demand was ſtarted a little unſeaſonably: and that it looked very much

much as if his ſtate ſought occaſions for a rupture, by forcing a diſagreeable anſwer from the king. That I would, however, aſſure him, that theſe troops, which were not numerous enough to give umbrage to the Athenians, were not deſigned, either againſt them or any of their allies, unleſs by their behaviour they obliged the king, againſt his inclination, to commence hoſtilities. PYTHON did not ſeem ſatisfied with this anſwer; and, amongſt other objections to it, ſaid, it was plain the empire was preparing ſome great ſtroke, as it was well known, that, beſides this army at land, a powerful fleet was equipping in the ports of Phœnicia. I replied, with an appearing warmth, that it was true, a ſquadron was fitting out to protect the commerce of our trading ſubjects, which was miſerably diſturbed and interrupted by the Peloponneſian and Athenian navies: that daily repreſentations were made to the miniſters from the moſt eminent merchants, that their veſſels were ſtopped and ſearched, the effects ſeized, and even the men impriſoned, by the ſhips of war belonging to both parties, under pretence, that they were carrying arms and proviſion to their enemies. I aſſured him, the king could no longer ſuffer theſe violences, but would think himſelf unworthy the crown he wore, if he did not protect the properties and perſons of his ſubjects, and inſiſt upon ample reparation of the damages they ſuſtained.

PYTHON deſired me to conſider, that theſe were inconveniencies unavoidably attending neutral powers in a ſtate of war; that many of the inſolences complained of are committed for the ſake of gain by particular officers,

officers, without the conſent or even knowledge of their principals; and that if I would give him a liſt of the ſufferers, and an eſtimate of their loſſes, he was ſure the Athenians would give ſatisfaction to thoſe, who were unjuſtly oppreſſed. He added, that he was concerned to find me more diſpoſed to inflame than accommodate matters between our maſters; and that it was purely to avoid it, he had omitted making complaint, as he was ordered, that the Perſian veſſels frequented the ſeas between the Cyanian and Chelidonian iſlands, in direct violation of the tenth article of CIMON's peace. I told him, it was probable, the merchant ſhips might take that courſe in their voyages; but that was not contrary to the treaty, which only ſays, that the Perſians ſhould not ſail in thoſe ſeas σὺν μακραῖς ναυσὶ, "with ſhips of war." After ſome altercation between us on the manner, in which this article was complied with, he repreſented one while, that the Greeks would make it a common cauſe, if the two fundamental ſtipulations in CIMON's peace, (the independence of the Aſiatic colonies, and the reſtraint on our navigation) were broken through; at another time, that the Athenians, provided they could gain the good will of the king of Perſia, would ſoften the rigor of them. But at laſt he ſaid plainly, that the commonwealth of Athens hoped we would not take part in the differences between them and the Lacedæmonians, as not being at all intereſted therein; but if we were reſolved to interfere, they had as good pretenſions to our friendſhip as any other Græcian ſtate. I ſaid, if the Athenians had any overtures to make, they might ſend

an embaſſy to propoſe them in expreſs terms; but that talking in general of the regard and eſteem, which his republic had for the king, without entering upon particulars, tended only to amuſe and create diſtruſt. As PYTHON had nothing more to offer, our conference ended; and I eaſily perceived his chief intent was to ſound our deſigns, and by throwing out ſome ſoftening hints of the amicable diſpoſition of Athens, prevent any immediate reſolution to break with them.

NICANDER ſtill preſerves that roughneſs and ſingularity in his behaviour, with which he began his embaſſy. He ſcarce ever ſtirs out of his houſe, makes no acquaintance in the court, and ſeldom confers with me. CRATIPPUS writes me word, that his own ſtate is ſo ill ſatisfied with the dry uninforming diſpatches they receive from him, that they intend to ſupply his place, toward the beginning of next ſpring, with ſome abler miniſters, who will have it in charge to propoſe to us terms of the higheſt advantage, in exchange for our friendſhip. It ſeems they repent the abrupt manner, in which the negotiation was broke off laſt year; and STHENELAIDAS the Ephorus, the great promoter of the war, and the preſent director of their counſels, has moſt heartily declared himſelf for calling in our aſſiſtance, rather than fail in the main point of reducing the power of Athens.

I have endeavoured to trace out the unaccountable flight of ZOPYRUS, and find by intercepted letters, and other intelligence, that, after making the beſt of his way to Epheſus, he took ſhipping there; and it is not yet known, whither he directed his courſe. If, as we

we have reaſon to ſuſpect, he conclude his ramble at Athens, I know thou wilt be vigilant in examining his conduct and deſigns, and acquainting us with the encouragement he receives: not that we apprehend any danger, either from his intereſt at home, or addreſs abroad; but in ſuch caſes precaution is always uſeful.

I congratulate thee, CLEANDER, that thou cloſeſt the year in quiet and ſafety, which, by the cabals of thy enemies, threatened thee at it's ſetting out with the ſtorms of faction. If to be honored with the favor of the prince, confirmed in the eſteem of the miniſters, and ſupported by the zealous endeavours of friends, are the proper incitements of induſtry and rewards of merit, thy ſituation is of all others the moſt fortunate. Farewel.

P.

LETTER CXXV.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

SOME of my friends here, a few days ago, accidentally fell into a diſpute about the comparative excellence of the two ſexes. It was occaſioned by one, who ventured to call in queſtion that natural title to ſuperiority, which we had all along in ſo peremptory a manner claimed to ourſelves. He maintained, that there was no diſtinction of ſexes in the ſoul; that in both it was equally capable of improvement; and that the viſible pre-eminence on our ſide was entirely to be reſolved into the greater degree of care and culture, that

that had been beſtowed upon us. He made ſome doubt, whether the other ſex were naturally, and before the acquired ſoftneſs, which they had derived from education, leſs able to undergo the more hardy and laborious employments, which are now appropriated to us under the name of manly. However, added he, intellectual capacity has plainly no ſort of dependance upon the vigor and weakneſs of the animal-conſtitution, ſince in our ſex the greateſt ſtrength of underſtanding is often to be obſerved in bodies of the moſt tender and delicate make. But as example and experience may be ſuppoſed to have much more weight in this matter, than any kind of abſtract reaſoning, he ſupported his opinion by the inſtance of the celebrated ASPASIA; a woman, whoſe attainments in the whole circle of ſciences have exceeded the moſt improved geniuſes in an age and country, which think they have made the greateſt advancement in knowledge of any other. As ſhe is yet alive in this city, though age has taken off the bloom of her perſon, and the death of PERICLES diminiſhed her intereſt in it, it may not perhaps be a diſagreeable entertainment to acquaint thee with ſome of the more diſtinguiſhing parts of her character, and inform thee of ſuch remarkable circumſtances relating to her, as converſation with herſelf or others may have helped me to the knowledge of.

ASPASIA is a native of Miletus, more famous than any other city of Ionia, for the number of extraordinary perſons, it has produced. This doubtleſs cannot ſo probably be accounted for from any efficacy of the climate, as from the aſſiſtance education may beſtow,

or

or the encouragement, that arts may receive in one place above another. Her quality I find not altogether ſettled; many of her own ſex dwell with ſome pleaſure on the ſuppoſed obſcurity of her birth, as a circumſtance, that throws ſomething of a ſhade over the luſtre of her character; and ſpeak with more certainty, than perhaps they ought, of the lowneſs of her deſcent, to take her down from that envied height of greatneſs, to which her virtues have raiſed her above the reſt of her contemporaries. Nor is it agreed, what was the chief motive of her coming to Athens: ſome ſuggeſt, that this was the moſt likely place for her advancement, as a theatre, on which her literary qualities might be diſplayed with the moſt ſucceſs. But the ſame reaſon might probably draw her hither, which has drawn ſo many others of any curioſity or ambition to excel in knowledge, the deſire of improving herſelf in a place of the moſt allowed reputation for learning. However, all agree to ſpeak of her, as one, in whom are united the higheſt endowments of mind and body; the utmoſt brightneſs of parts, and beauty of perſon; the one heightened and recommended by all that eaſe and grace, which travel and acquaintance with the beſt company beſtow; the other improved by a careful uſe of all thoſe advantages, which a free converſe with all the celebrated wits of Greece could give her. Her thoughts were not confined within the narrow province of domeſtic buſineſs, nor laid out in acquiring thoſe more ſhowy and ſuperficial accompliſhments, which too often engage the whole attention of that ſex. She had gained an early acquaintance with every part of

uſeful

uſeful literature; but her favourite ſtudies, to which ſhe had devoted more care and pains, were philoſophy and politics. ANAXAGORAS, one of the firſt credit for his attainments in natural knowledge, was not eſteemed ſuperior to her in that one point, to which the chief enquiries of a whole life had been directed; and the ableſt ſtateſmen in Athens do not better underſtand the conſtitution of the ſeveral cities of Greece, or more readily diſcern thoſe nice conjunctures and dependencies, which make up their reſpective intereſts. She is ſuppoſed to have imitated the manner, and in ſome meaſure to have formed herſelf upon the pattern of Tragelia, her country-woman; one of great art and intrigue, who by her abilities and addreſs had inſinuated herſelf into the confidence of many leading men in Greece, learnt their ſentiments in public matters, and by diſpoſing many of them by degrees to think more favourably of the deſigns of the great king, attached them at length to his ſervice. But of all her high qualities, what could not fail of recommending her to the greateſt notice and favour under ſuch a government, is her admirable eloquence, and abſolute command over the opinions and affections of the hearers. No wonder, that one of ſo uncommon a capacity ſhould draw after her numbers of ſuch an inquiſitive nation, to hear her leſſons of morality, and to be witneſſes of her power of perſuaſion! But is it not wonderful, HYDASPES! that ſhe, who ſo perfectly knows, and can ſo admirably explain the excellence of virtue, ſhould be ſo little influenced by it, as ſhe is repreſented to have been in her own conduct? That ſhe, who had ſo entire

tire aſcendency over the paſſions of others, ſhould be ſo far wanting in regulating her own? Some of the moſt conſiderable perſons here do not, however, diſdain to pay her a conſtant attendance, for the ſake of their own improvement; and nothing ſure can give one a more exalted idea of ASPASIA's accompliſhments, than that SOCRATES, the moſt rational of the Græcian philoſophers, and ſcarce inferior to our renowned ZERDUSHT, can learn from her new maxims of wiſdom; than that PERICLES, the ableſt ſpeaker, and moſt conſummate ſtateſman, ſhould apply to her to be further improved in the arts of eloquence, and more perfectly inſtructed in the intereſts of Athens. Theſe qualifications gained ſo far by degrees on the affections of PERICLES, as to give great diſturbance to his wife, a woman of ſome rank and ſpirit. They agreed therefore to part, that each might be at liberty to make a ſecond choice; for the ſeverer laws of Athens allow not our ſex to follow the freer practice, that prevails in Perſia, and to aſſert the privilege of a plurality of wives, which is unconteſted through all the countries of the eaſt. He was married to her immediately after this ſeparation; and many inſtances are remembered of the extraordinary love, which he always expreſſed for her. She had the addreſs conſtantly to maintain the influence ſhe had over him, but (as it was ſaid) not the honor to make uſe of it on ſuch occaſions only, as were advantageous to his character, or ſerviceable to his country. I know many perſons are of opinion, but, I believe, without the leaſt foundation, that he was prevailed on by her to engage Athens in a war, in which it's intereſts

were no way concerned, in favor of the Mileſians againſt the people of Samos. It is certain, that ſhe attended him hither, and erected ſome public monuments in memory of his conqueſts; and it is ſuppoſed (but ridiculouſly) that ſhe had a ſhare in that celebrated harangue, made in honor of ſuch Athenians, as were ſlain in the firſt year of the war.

But PERICLES was ſoon after obliged, not only to exert all the powers of his eloquence, but to try the laſt efforts of his intereſt and importunity with the judges in her favor, when, upon the complaint of HERMIPPUS, ſhe was publicly accuſed of impiety, and leading a debauched and diſſolute life, by miniſtring to the pleaſures of the young Athenians. The former part of the charge at Athens is by no means, I think, the worſt imputation upon her character; ſince the explication of natural appearances has been underſtood here to imply a disbelief of the Deity, and it has been dangerous to aſſert, that the ſun, the throne and reſidence of the radiant MITHRAS, is a maſs of fire no bigger than Peloponneſus.

Aſperſions are ſometimes caſt upon ASPASIA's character, as one, whoſe ſoul is, they pretend, of too elevated a kind to ſtoop to the common concerns of houſhold affairs, and who has too extenſive views, to ſhew any regard to matters of ſo confined and inferior a nature. But theſe are the ſuſpicions of ſuch, who ſpeak rather from general obſervation, than any particular knowledge of ASPASIA. Many, who know her, affirm, that her great capacity for public buſineſs does not hinder her paying a proper attention to the private duties

duties of domeſtic life; nor her skill in the movements of the planetary ſyſtem give any interruption to the good order and oeconomy of her own family.

After the death of PERICLES ſhe married LYSICLES, one of mean parts and parentage. Though this circumſtance of her life gives one no very admirable idea of her temper or character, yet it will help to ſhew thee, what uncommon addreſs and incredible dexterity ſhe is miſtreſs of. For her new husband, though neither recommended by the dignity of his birth, nor his talents for buſineſs, though not ſupported by the ſplendor of his fortune, or the intereſt of his friends, is advanced, by her ſole credit and contrivance, to the higheſt offices and honors in the ſtate. Adieu.

G.

LETTER CXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

I Send thee, noble ſcribe, what thou wilt permit me to call a very valuable preſent, becauſe I am ſure thy wiſdom will eſteem it ſuch. It is no leſs than a tranſcript of the laws of SOLON. They have been ſo univerſally celebrated over Europe, that not many years ago, a certain city on the banks of Tiber, ſcarce known in theſe poliſhed parts of the world, ſent ſolemn deputies to Athens, who were indulged in copying them, and carried home the precious charge in triumph to their countrymen. This diſtinction was juſtly due to their pre-eminence over thoſe of all other ſtates; nor can any

thing raiſe in thee an higher veneration for them, except thou liſtneſt to what the Athenians themſelves pretend, that the world owes to Attica the invention of laws. So abſurd an aſſertion is equally ridiculous with that concerning their own original from the ſoil they dwell upon, as it ſuppoſes, that legal juſtice and ſubordination were not dictated to all men, by the common voice of nature, and condition of ſociety. Both traditions aroſe from the ſame principle of vanity, perhaps too in the ſame barbarous age of ſuperſtition; and operate in the ſame manner on a credulous and proud people. This, however, is an idle ſpeculation, and affects not the merit of the Athenian pandect; for I am convinced, a better than theirs was never formed, for the propagation of perſonal virtue, and the eſtabliſhment of a popular religion; nor can any more effectually promote the various, yet connected intereſts of *liberty* and *commerce*, thoſe main pillars of national felicity. One piece of policy will pleaſe thee, among many inſtances, which thou wilt obſerve of it in their ſtatutes; I mean the brevity prevailing in the forms of drawing them, and the forbearing to recite the motives, that produced each of them. The former leaves no room for evaſion, or obſcurity; the latter prevents litigiouſneſs, becauſe every reaſon expreſſed by the legiſlator is the foundation of many ſuits, and all men chooſe to obey the laws upon their own reaſons.

If any inſtitution ſeems blameable, it is that, which makes ingratitude a legal crime. I know it has afforded a fair field of panegyric to the flatterers of Athens, as well for it's ſingularity, as the ſanction it receives from

from private conſcience; but to me it has always appeared either wholly unneceſſary, or attended with inconveniences. It is unneceſſary, becauſe we muſt acknowledge it enough, (if we conſider it) that the generality of legiſlators endeavour to reſtrain us from violations of right; and as to every thing, that concerns the duties of humanity, ſend every man to his own breaſt for information. He, who is acquainted with thoſe actions, which procure reputation or diſgrace, knows the natural infamy accompanying the ungrateful. He knows, that ſuch an one muſt feel the pangs of remorſe, and the vapours of ſolitude: he knows too, that ſuch characters are rarely found; for if providence has made not only our reaſon, but our weakneſſes, prompt us in many caſes to a beneficence almoſt diſintereſted, then certainly much more to gratitude.

Theſe indeed are the natural ſanctions of this amiable virtue, and, one would think, of ſufficient force to ſecure us from any violations of it. But ſhould it be ſuggeſted, that ſuch violations occur ſometimes in ſociety, I grant, that they ſometimes occur, and, I believe, could maintain, that they are provided againſt incidentally by the laws of all ſtates; for they are often ſo interwoven with crimes of injuſtice, as at once to aggravate both the crime and the penalty. So far then in every country, as they are underſtood to be aggravations of injuſtice, they are the objects of the magiſtrate's care. As to acts of unmixed and downright ingratitude, they ſeldom happen; and, whenever they do, muſt be left for puniſhment to the hatred of mankind, the reproofs of reaſon, the torments of conſcience,

and the ſanctions of religion. The civil magiſtrate ought not to interpoſe, becauſe while they do not immediately affect the peace or rights of ſociety, his interpoſition would bring on a thouſand inconveniencies. No court of judicature can with ſuch propriety define the proportion of one benefit to another, as they can compare the nature of conteſted claims. Thoſe proportions would be rated differently in the forum of juſtice, and the forum of conſcience; for if juſtice reſtores to every man no more than his due, and gratitude often exceeds the real value of a favor in the return it makes for it; then, upon the principles of juſtice, no magiſtrate could oblige me to over-pay a benefit, though upon the principles of gratitude I ſhould think myſelf frequently obliged to do ſo. And if it be ſaid, that in caſes, which relate to either, the magiſtrate muſt decide according to the rules of each; yet the intention of the legiſlator moſt certainly was, that points of gratitude ſhould be determined according to the rules of juſtice; ſince, on the contrary ſuppoſition, the doing a ſlight favor to another might be uſed as an artful way of extorting a return for it, much greater than it's value. So that if the magiſtrate is willing to avoid various ill conſequences, which would flow from a different method of determination, he muſt conſider caſes of gratitude in the light of pecuniary debts. For which reaſon the juriſdiction of the magiſtrate, as to ſuch caſes, muſt operate imperfectly. The proceedings of the forum of conſcience and of juſtice moſt evidently interfere, and no attempt ſhould be made to unite them. The principles of juſtice would be forgot, if thoſe of

gratitude

gratitude were always obſerved; and the very *nature* of gratitude would be deſtroyed, if weighed by the rules, as it's *grace* would be loſt, if it were inforced by the penalties of juſtice. Such a law then ſounds prettily in the words, yet, when examined, is nothing but ſound. It tends to make the intercourſe of benefits among friends as mercenary, as the exchange of commodities in the dealings of merchants. It ſets men on their guard againſt each other; it gives them a reſerve in accepting kindneſſes, leſt they ſhould be called upon by law to return them, and therefore undermines the principle it was intended to ſupport. Excellent miniſter, thou wilt forgive the peculiarity of my ſentiments; I know they are inconſiſtent with a law eſtabliſhed in Perſia, and a law in Ægypt; but, if I miſtake not, they are deducible both from the reaſonings of ſpeculative philoſophers, and the practice of wiſe legiſlators.

The Athenians are commendable for not confining the judges in their determinations to the ſtrict letter of the law. In all ſtates the extremities of too much law, and too little, are to be equally avoided. Diſcretion and fixed law ſhould be mingled together; the former to provide againſt particular caſes, that may ariſe and could not be foreſeen: the latter to be a general rule of action: the one may moderate or add to the rigor of the law; the other prevents ignorance, diſobedience, ficklenes in the people; in the judges, it prevents favor, hatred, or corruption. For in order to deter the magiſtrate from bending the law in ſuch a way as to break it, I am content the magiſtrate ſhould be in the power of the law, while a diſcretionary power is veſted in the

magiſtrate. And ſhould it be objected, that the ſituation of the magiſtrate would be dangerous and precarious, if he were liable to be called to an account for the exerciſe of this diſcretionary power, it may well be anſwered, that it is fit the ſtate ſhould have an eye over his actions, and that an appeal ſhould lie from his tribunal to his dernier reſort. If it appears in ſome caſes, that his judgments are wrong, and that nevertheleſs he gave them according to conſcience and his opinion, the judgment may be reverſed, without any infamy attending the judge. But if it appears, that he has been biaſſed by bad motives to give even a right determination, then he deſerves to be puniſhed with ſeverity. Such ſalutary proviſions as theſe, againſt the licentiouſneſs of a bad magiſtrate, can never become reſtraints on the freedom of a good one. In Perſia, as all ſubordinate judicatures are derived from the ſovereign, ſo they are under his immediate inſpection; for he communicates his authority, without quitting the throne, or ſharing it with any one. And certainly the wiſdom and power of a great prince muſt be much more awful to a magiſtrate, than the divided councils of a popular aſſembly. How moving is that leſſon of integrity to the paſſion of fear, which may be learnt from the exemplary puniſhment inflicted by CAMBYSES on a corrupt judge! He ordered his body to be flayed after his death, and that the ſeat in the court, where he preſided, and where his ſon ſucceeded him, ſhould be covered with the skin. Thus the very chair became a conſtant monitor of duty to the magiſtrate.

The

The laws of Perſia, noble GOBRYAS, excel thoſe of Athens in one point, which is eſteemed the perfection, and almoſt the definition, of a free government; "that they indulge the greateſt liberty of accuſing, with the leaſt of calumniating." For in Athens, if an accuſation is found to be falſe and malicious, the accuſer is only fined in a certain ſum of money; whereas in Perſia he ſuffers all thoſe puniſhments, which would have been inflicted on the accuſed, had the accuſation been made out. I never reflect on the illuſtrious inſtance, which our monarch once gave of his impartial regard to this law, without being wrapt in admiration of ſuch exalted virtue. One of his favourites, thou knoweſt, attempted formerly to make him ſuſpect the honeſty of a faithful officer. The officer was impriſoned; the charge being examined, proved groundleſs, and the king turned his whole indignation on the perfidious informer. He wiſely ſaw, that to have done otherwiſe would have been to open a door to envy, revenge, and defamation; to arm malice with the public authority; and to deprive the throne of it's moſt ſacred character, "the protection of innocence from ſpecious calumnies, or lawleſs oppreſſion."

C.

LETTER

LETTER CXXVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

THOU haſt encouraged me, noble ſcribe, to tranſmit many papers of a political kind to the court of Perſia. I will now open to thee the riſe and progreſs of the conſtitution of Athens, ſince it is well worth thy notice. They give no account of themſelves before OGYGES, and that is ſufficiently romantic. They ſpeak of his age in the higheſt terms of fooliſh admiration; and affirm, that when the reſt of the world was in a ſtate of ignorance and darkneſs, they were flouriſhing in arts and power. But after a reign of thirty two years, a flood ſwept away not only their cities, and hiſtorical records, but both the monarch and the people. After a long interval of time, CECROPS with ſome followers came out of Ægypt, and ſettled in Attica, where they united into a ſmall community. This prince built a town, which he called after himſelf, CECROPIA, on the rock, where the citadel now ſtands, and inſtituted four tribes. In the reign of CECROPS the ſecond, they talk of twelve little cities, which were diſperſed over the country, each of them enjoying ſeparate privileges and immunities. Cecropia was the capital, where the king reſided, to whom, in caſes of difficulty or of danger, the ſubjects dutifully applied. I will not inſiſt on the hardſhips, through which THESEUS ſtruggled in his way to the kingdom. It is well known, that after having defeated the ſons of PANDION

his

his grand-father, who conteſted the ſovereignty with him, and freed his country from the yoke of MINOS, he diligently watched over it's intereſts, reformed it, and was properly the firſt lawgiver, who appeared in it. He collected the people into one city, by which means, though he added to their ſtrength, yet he laid a foundation for continual animoſities, and gave a lurking principle of death to the conſtitution. For whenever the body of men, that compoſe the ſtate, are united in one city, they muſt frequently be diſturbed by political tempeſts. In ſuch governments the purſuits of ambition engage every man from the greateſt to the meaneſt; and hence ariſes the moſt factious and unſteady genius of a republic. He eſtabliſhed a common court of juſtice; and to ſhew his reverence to the Gods, and eſpecially to the Deity, from whoſe name the town was called Athens, he ordained the feaſt Panathenæa. To give a ſanction to his conduct, THESEUS, like other legiſlators, conſulted the oracle, and promiſed to lay down the regal power, reſerving only the military command, and guardianſhip of the laws, to himſelf. He divided the Athenians into three ranks of noblemen, husbandmen, and artificers. The firſt excelled in honor, the next in riches, and the third in number. Theſe changes were ſo well received, that no further alteration was made in their affairs, till after the death of CODRUS by the abolition of kings, who at that time retained only the titles of royalty, with no more power than THESEUS, and not ſo much authority. Perpetual and decennial Archons ſoon ſunk into annual ones; and DRACO was at laſt nominated, not indeed

indeed to alter the general plan of the ſtate, but to make ſome farther and more particular proviſion, in matters of private right. This man, however, having little knowledge of mankind, and a very bad opinion of them, was unfit for the office; and, with an unparalleled ſeverity, inflicted death for every offence, as well as that of murder. So that it were better to have lived in a ſtate of nature, when the law of retaliation took place, than under the ſavage ſyſtem of DRACO. Thou may'ſt eaſily conjecture, GOBRYAS, no people could bear this. Within the ſpace of a few years they inveſted SOLON with an unlimited power over the whole oeconomy of their conſtitution. In the courſe of my diſpatches I have already given thee ſome account, how far he new modelled it. It is certain, he always deſigned to temper the people by the nobility; and to check the petulance of thoſe, who have moſt intereſt in the ſtate, by thoſe, who have moſt wiſdom in it. His republican plans were ſomewhat interrupted by the ſhort-lived influence of PISISTRATUS; but on the murder of HIPPARCHUS, and the flight of HIPPIAS, his ſons, (the laſt of whom perſuaded DARIUS to the deſtructive war againſt the Greeks) CLISTHENES revived them, and added new laws both in completion and amendment of the ſcheme of SOLON.

The greateſt blow, that ever was given to the firmneſs and tranquillity of the Athenian government, came from the beſt man, who in any age has lived under it, ARISTIDES; and he was among the firſt, who felt the conſequences of it. But it was owing, not to choice, but to neceſſity; for the people (as I have hinted in

a * former letter) grew turbulent at home, being elated with their ſucceſs abroad at Platea; ſo he agreed to admit them to an equal capacity of bearing offices with the three rich orders of the ſtate, who were divided by SOLON, according to the valuation of their fortunes, and had till then compoſed the ſenate of four hundred. Hence all orders, contrary to the inſtitution of SOLON, were promiſcuouſly blended, and the ſenate not being made up of the natural ariſtocracy, were in name only diſtinct from the aſſembly, but were diveſted in fact of all ſeparate authority. The Demagogues, who were to report matters from the ſenate, propoſed them, not only to the determination, but to the debate of the people, which to this day maintains two oppoſite parties in the city. Indeed the balance of the republic was never well fixed, ſince before the expedition of XERXES, it was in danger of falling into an oligarchy, as it has now fallen into the hands of the multitude. Such effects are conſequent on two original defect in it's ſettlement: the firſt is an unequal diſtribution of property, whence a fluctuation of power enſues; and the other is an uncertain diviſion of privileges between the ſenate and people, in the tranſaction of buſineſs, which (joined to the other cauſe) produces perpetual ſedition. As theſe original faults in the conſtitution have given riſe to diſorders in the adminiſtration, ſo a very blameable fault, that took it's riſe in the adminiſtration, is like to bear hard on the conſtitution. I will explain it to thee fully. Thou knoweſt it is the aim of this re-

* Letter XIII.

public,

public, and agreeable to the principles, on which it has been founded, to extend it's commerce, and increaſe the number of it's dependent ſtates. It is in purſuance of this plan of empire, that the youth, when they enter into the ſervice, take an oath to improve the dominions of Athens to the utmoſt of their abilities, "while there are vineyards and olive trees without it's limits." How often has it ſent forth colonies to build new cities, armies to ſubdue new countries, and brought home the corn of Ægypt, and the ſpices of Arabia, in the ſhips of it's wealthy traders! Thus they have raiſed a name, which is immortal, and accordingly for ſome time placed themſelves at the head of this country. But by cruelty to thoſe, who openly acknowledged their power, and arrogance over thoſe, who connived at it, they have been forced to contract their views, and, inſtead of endeavouring to propagate, they are now labouring to preſerve their influence.

Noble GOBRYAS, behold Athens, and Lacedæmon, the one formed for *encreaſe*, and the other for * *preſervation*, acting in contradiction to the expreſs deſign of their lawgivers, and the genius of their ſtates. The one drawn into a poſture of mere defence by it's madneſs in proſperity; the other betrayed into an † offenſive war by it's own jealouſy and the voice of it's allies. Then penetrate into the dark abyſs of futurity, and reflect on the ruin of Greece.

* See Letter CXVII, towards the concluſion.
† Ibid.

C.

LETTER

LETTER CXXVIII.

CLEANDER TO HIPPIAS.

THOU art acquainted doubtleſs with the unbounded liberties taken by this people, in cenſuring the conduct of their great men. When the national vivacity is ſuffered to evaporate in words, it ſeldom breaks out into action, and their miniſters are ſafe from the ſevere penalty of a fine, or the infamy of oſtraciſm. Some reſtraint however is to be wiſhed, notwithſtanding it is wiſely neglected: for though a privilege of that kind thus openly indulged keeps alive the ſpirit of liberty; yet when carried to it's utmoſt height, it may diſcourage the honeſt and able ſervants of the public, while it makes the proud, the wicked, or the ignorant more irreclaimable, and more deſperate. Thou knoweſt I have profeſſed, ever ſince my arrival in this city, to converſe with all ranks and profeſſions of men in it. The uſe I would make of this I need not explain to thee, who art as well verſed in the knowledge of mankind, as thou art in the ſentiments and weakneſſes of thy brother. The merchants are ſo conſiderable a body in the Athenian commonwealth, that it was impoſſible for one acting in the double capacity of agent for the great king, and HIPPIAS of Epheſus, to omit a particular application to them. I generally walk down to the Pyræeus one day in the week, where I diſcourſe promiſcuouſly with the various traders of the place, enquire concerning the imports and exports, the prices of commodities,

commodities, and the numbers and cargoes of the veſſels, that come into the harbour, or go out of it.

I had an opportunity of ſeeing a remarkable inſtance of the ruling paſſion I have ſpoken of, on occaſion of a report, which was current on the kay the other morning, that advice was juſt arrived of the capture of an Athenian ſhip richly laden, by a Corinthian galley of ſome force, near Salamis. It was ſaid to be taken in ſight of two or three men of war, who were ſent out by the admiral of the ſtate on a cruize. I confeſs it appeared to me from the circumſtances of the ſtory, that neither the admiral, nor his officers, much leſs thoſe, who are at the head of affairs, as worthleſs as their characters, or as fickle as their meaſures may be, had been guilty of negligence; yet they were equally blamed without judgment or humanity. The heat of converſation drew out a friend, whom I talked with on this ſubject, into general reflections on the proſecution of the quarrel, the diſtreſs of the Athenians, and a moſt virulent abuſe, not only on the preſent, but even the late leaders of the aſſembly. "I am convinced, ſaid he, that nothing but a view to private intereſt could have induced PERICLES to ſo hazardous a ſtep, as engaging with the power of all Greece againſt us! No progreſs has been made in the war from the beginning; and we are removed further from the proſpect of peace than at firſt. All poſſible calamities are ſuffered in Attica; our enemies inſult over our waſted country, and never feel the ſame inconveniences at home. Indeed the management is lately turned into another channel; yet the face of affairs is not changed. Ob-

ſerve, how trade, the life and glory of the Athenians, is in all parts carried on with danger, and in ſome prevented entirely. Our intercourſe with the colonies in Aſia is interrupted by the vigilance of the enemy; our traffic with Ægypt is at an end. The Helleſpont, the Euxine, and Ægean ſeas ſwarm with the pirates of the leſſer iſlands, and infeſt the paſſage of our ſhips; nay, they dare to annoy us in the very mouth of the Pitæeus; and it is in vain, that Athens boaſts of it's ſuperiority at ſea, while our ſtrength is either unskilfully uſed, or faintly exerted. For my own part, I think nothing more deſirable than peace to a people, that exiſts by commerce. In the mean time, it were worth while for us, to put the adminiſtration of the war into hands, that may ſoon bring it to an end by conducting it with activity."

I aſſure you, it was no eaſy thing for me to ſtop my friend in the career of his eloquence, to which he had given the reins very freely. "If my memory, returned I, does not fail me, it was an opinion pretty generally held, before the war broke out, that the Corinthian commerce was encreaſing ſo immoderately, that Athens had reaſon to entertain ſome jealouſy. It was ſaid particularly, that the Corinthians began to ſucceed better in the importation of corn, than this city; and for that reaſon it was even eſteemed a fortunate circumſtance, that hoſtilities between the Peloponneſians and your ſtate were almoſt in courſe inevitable. Nor was it, I believe, of little weight in the debates and reſolutions, which brought on the war, that ſeveral merchants had preſented a petition to the aſſembly, requeſting them

to enter into ſome method of preventing the decay of the corn trade, which is one of your moſt valuable commodities. At that time it was farther argued, that you would be able to injure the commerce of the Peloponneſians, more than it would be poſſible for them to injure yours. Yet you are impatient at the leaſt loſs of your own, though it be abundantly recompenſed by the loſſes of your enemy. You were then too ſanguine to think of the difficulties, that attend a war, and you talk inconſiſtently now. You looked upon victory as the inſeparable companion of your fleets, and fancied the name of Athens would awe the ſtates of Greece into ſubmiſſion. Behold, how the event differs from the expectation! The only reſource left for the diſappointed is to be angry with their leaders. For as it is uſual for the unſucceſsful pilot of a commonwealth to impute the faults ariſing from his own imprudence to ill fortune; ſo it is no leſs uſual for thoſe, who ſuffer in the conſequence, without being concerned in the management, to impute the faults ariſing from ill fortune to a want of prudence. Were I to act as a miniſter on the theatre of the republic, next to my integrity, I own, I would comfort myſelf with this reflection, that the wiſdom of THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON, and PERICLES, could never ſatisfy the body of Athenian merchants.

I am ſenſible, deareſt HIPPIAS, thou doſt not think thyſelf concerned in theſe remarks. Above indulging the rough petulance of pride, or the ſilly ſuggeſtions of ignorance, thou doſt not ſet an extravagant value on thy own importance to thy country, nor forget to make

make proper allowances for the miſtakes of thy governors; remembering, that they judge before the event, and thou judgeſt after it. The merchants, who traffic under the protection of the great king, are much fitter ſubjects for the compariſon, which poets have drawn in their fancy, between the induſtry of bees and that of traders, than the merchants of this city. The latter imitate the frugal inhabitants of the hive in nothing but their attention to wealth; and though they contribute a ſhare of it to ſupport their country, yet murmur and repine at thoſe, who diſpoſe of it; while the former (agreeably to what curious naturaliſts have obſerved of the ſame animals) intent on their proper buſineſs, and meddling not with things beyond their reach, if the affairs of their king ſhould require it, would lay the whole of that wealth with pleaſure at the foot of his throne.

C.

LETTER CXXIX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

*MY ſituation obliges me to a conſtant neglect of ZERDUSHT's inſtitutions; but his everlaſting law ſhall prevail in my heart, where I cannot make open

* The letters of moral and religious ſpeculation in CLEANDER's correſpondence may be divided, like the Dialogues of PLATO, and the philoſophic pieces of other great men of antiquity, into the eſoteric and exoteric. Thoſe, which contain his inward doctrine, are addreſſed to ORSAMES; but

open profeſſion of it. I can here give no outward expreſſions of my faith, and, to all appearance, am as much an idolater as thoſe I converſe with. I dare not ſo much as put on the badge of our religion, the ſacred girdle. I am eye-witneſs of numberleſs unneceſſary pollutions of the elements; and paſs by, without ſhewing diſguſt, ſuch abominations, as it would ill become me to repeat to the holieſt of the magi. I am ſatisfied, that the precepts of ZERDUSHT are wiſe, but cannot always be followed. Many righteous Perſians die childleſs; yet it ſeems to be enjoined as a duty, that all ſhould leave children behind them. "Children, ſays the prophet, are a bridge, that reaches to paradiſe. How ſhall ye paſs over, if ye have provided no bridge? The angel ſhall ask every ſoul, if he have provided children; if he anſwer no, the ſoul, that has contributed ſo little to ſociety, ſhall himſelf be left deſolate on the banks of a river, where he ſhall ſee the freſh ſprings and blooming fruits of paradiſe, but ſhall never be able to arrive at them."

"Again, ſays ZERDUSHT, if thou knoweſt, that a corpſe is hid in the earth, and ſuffereſt it to lie there,

thoſe of the oppoſite turn to Smerdis. In Letter CII, he tells his friend, the young nobleman, that "his ſentiments of all the known modes of popular worſhip are unſettled;" yet here, and in other epiſtles to the mage, we find him ſcrupulouſly attached to the little forms and ceremonies of the religion he profeſſed. This can be reconciled on no other ſuppoſition, than that he had adopted the double doctrine of his favourites, the Greek philoſophers.

and

and defile that element, it ſhall be a ſcorpion in thy clothes, and a ſerpent in thy bed;" a precept, which can by no means be complied with in Greece, where it is the cuſtom to bury all the dead.

The planting of a tree is always a practicable duty, and very uſeful to poſterity. In this particular I have greatly exceeded the commandment; I have a fair garden of fruit-trees near Epheſus to teſtify it, a long avenue of limes in PHILEMON's eſtate, a riſing grove of pines in Salamis; not to mention that beautiful olive, which I religiouſly planted in the peaceful gardens of the magi.

I read the books of our prophet; I thrice a day proſtrate myſelf to MITHRAS; and, when I eat, I give ſomething to the dogs, to remind me of the duties of charity. Before I waſh, or take my reſt, or go upon buſineſs, or a journey, I uſe the forms preſcribed by ZERDUSHT; and becauſe theſe compliances are very imperfect, I ſolemnly obſerve the feaſt of CHÛRDAD to expiate the neceſſary omiſſions of duty. I ſubmit with reverence to thy cenſures, SMERDIS; "for the rebukes of a prieſt, a parent, and an inſtructor, ſhall be received with meekneſs, ſays ZERDUSHT; for their ſervices can never be repayed."

Happy art thou in the receſſes of Bactria, guarded by miniſtring genii, who will not ſuffer the ſuſpicion of guilt to reſt upon thee! Temperance governs thy meals, and ſweet ſleep attends thy bed. Thou riſeſt before MITHRAS, and awaiteſt his coming with thy ſupplications, and lieſt proſtrate before him, till he has mounted far above the horizon. Thou feedeſt the ſa-

cred fires of BALCH with precious oils, and with odorous flowers and ſpices, which thou gathereſt from the garden of the magi. At noon, when thou retireſt to thy myrtle bower, thou hymneſt the praiſes of OROMASDES more melodiouſly than the Thracian ORPHEUS, who, they tell us, appeaſed the infernal powers with the muſic of his lyre.

When thou viſiteſt thy ſolitary cave, all nature lies open before thee. Thou reflecteſt on the regular change of the ſeaſons, that mark of an invariable beneficent providence. Thou ſtudieſt the courſe of the heavenly bodies, and comprehendeſt in thy capacious mind that circulation of time, which contains all their revolutions. The concave of the heavens thou haſt delineated on the arched roof of thy grotto, and adorned the horizon with the emblems of a balance, a rule, and a bridle, to ſignify weight, meaſure, and the guidance of OROMASDES. H.

LETTER CXXX.

ARTAPHERNES to CLEANDER. From Sardis.

I Have lately received an order under the imperial ſignet, which calls me away from this place to aſſiſt in the ſupreme council upon the vacancy by MEGABYZUS's death. The government of Sardis, and the care of the province, are entruſted to PISUTHNES during my abſence, who will find all things in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity. Sardis is ſo ſtrongly fortified, and it's magazines are at preſent ſo well ſupplied, that without

without that fabulous ſecurity, to which it truſted in ancient times, it may juſtly be called to this day the key of the leſſer Aſia; and a place of this ſtrength in the hands of faithful governors will always have a great influence over the neighbouring provinces. Excuſe me, CLEANDER, if I cannot help recapitulating the circumſtances of my own life, and the intereſting events in my family, which have in a particular manner engaged my affections to this place. My father, ARTAPHERNES, in joint command with DATIS, revenged upon the Greeks the injury they did to DARIUS, when they reduced this city to aſhes; and they have ſeen it rebuilt by me, the grandſon of another ARTAPHERNES, who valiantly held out the citadel againſt them, while the reſt of Sardis was in flames. In the old city the houſes were chiefly built of cane; which was the occaſion, that the conflagration ſpread ſo inſtantly; but there are now no buildings but of brick or ſtone. The forum, which was originally a noble deſign, has been in this reign conſiderably enlarged. The river Pactolus, thou knoweſt, runs through the midſt of it; and it takes in a view of the Tmolus with it's fruitful vines, and the ſprings falling down it's ſides. I have enjoyed here, for the greateſt part of my time, a ſtate of eaſe with dignity. When the province of Lydia was added to my former government, I entered upon a more unquiet ſcene; but that laſted no longer than to give me an opportunity of approving the zeal and fidelity of my conduct to ARTAXERXES; and I now leave the province with leſs reluctance, ſince his ſervice requires it from me.

It was reſolved in the council of ſeven, a little before MEGABYZUS's death, that a body of ſixty thouſand choice troops ſhould be appointed to encamp near Sardis early in the next ſpring. By this the Greeks will be made ſenſible, that Perſia is preparing to take a part in the Peloponneſian quarrel, and intends not to let ſlip ſo critical a conjuncture, as the preſent may ſeem, to cancel the diſgrace of former treaties. If my advice ſhall be of any weight in the councils of Perſia, I ſhall earneſtly inſiſt upon the claims already made being adhered to, as conditional to our entering into a league with Sparta. XERXES laid claim even to the dominion of Greece, becauſe PELOPS, a vaſſal of his anceſtors, had tranſplanted thither a colony of the Lydians, and ſubdued the peninſula, called after him the Peloponneſus. I will not take upon me to aſcertain his pretenſions, ſince this happened ſo long ago as under the old Aſſyrian monarchy. But this I am ſure of, that unleſs our preſent demands be complied with, of a free navigation on the Grecian ſeas, and that ARTAXERXES be put in full poſſeſſion of the colonies in Aſia, which are founded upon much more defenſible pretenſions, there can no league be granted to Sparta, but by our aſſiſting that republic on very diſhonourable and diſadvantageous terms.

It has been thought expedient, that ſome experienced officers, who have ſerved in Greece, ſhould review our new raiſed forces in their winter quarters, and make improvements in the military diſcipline after the Grecian manner. This was wiſely ſuggeſted, and at a very proper time, in a letter to MEGABYZUS. The fatal miſcarriages

miſcarriages of our undertakings againſt the Greeks ought indeed to have convinced us, that the arts of war and conqueſt are to be learnt from our enemies; a truth, CLEANDER, which my father ARTAPHERNES, after many glorious and faithful ſervices, lived to inculcate from his own experience; happy in this at leaſt, that the part he acted was always great, though the fortune of his life was various.

I much applaud myſelf, CLEANDER, for having recommended thee to the ſervice of the great king, who with ſuch unwearied diligence haſt watched over the affairs of Greece. I am not ignorant, that, notwithſtanding thou haſt deſerved ſo well of Perſia, there are ſome, who have ſhewn themſelves very inſenſible of thy merits. But continue thou to ſerve our ſovereign with the ſame ſpirit and reſolution, and aſſure thyſelf of always finding ARTAPHERNES in the number of thy moſt zealous friends. Adieu.

L.

LETTER CXXXI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

I Was yeſterday morning ſurprized by a viſit from ZOPYRUS; and think it my duty, noble ſcribe, to give thee a recital of the converſation, as I know thou art attentive to his behaviour, not only becauſe of thy perſonal concern for the family of MEGABYZUS, but becauſe of the conſequences of his future raſhneſs or ſobriety to thy maſter and thy country. Thou mayeſt

eaſily

eaſily conjecture, that during my reſidence in the palace of my ever honored patron, I had contracted ſome acquaintance with him, for the ſake of his own parts and ſpirit, and of his relation to that great man. I was a good deal ſtruck with ſeeing him again after an interval of many years; and though I could not receive him otherwiſe than affectionately, yet, on account of his late proceedings, I was willing to ſhew him a little degree of coolneſs and reſerve. He prevented all my queſtions, by telling me, that he had taken Epheſus in his way from Suſa, and had ſeen my brother HIPPIAS, from whom he learnt, that we were embarked together in trade, and that I was ſettled here to carry on that part of it, which depended on the commodities of Greece, while he managed every thing, which belongs to the traffic of the eaſt.

As ſoon as the ordinary compliments were over, his countenance, on a ſudden, loſt it's gaiety, and aſſumed an air, that beſpoke a diſſatisfied mind. "You may wonder, ſaid he, if you have not heard my ſtory, what could draw ZOPYRUS from the ſeat of his friends and kindred, to engage in the company and projects of bold adventurers; nor when you have heard it, will there be room for wonder." It is true, returned I, no man in Athens can be a ſtranger to the character or hiſtory of MEGABYZUS and his ſons; much leſs can I, whoſe curioſity would prompt me to enquire into, as well as whoſe gratitude would make me anxious for, the fate of your illuſtrious houſe, be uninformed or unintereſted in it's honor or reproach. "You know then, replied ZOPYRUS, all that has paſt ſince the death of my father; nor would I chooſe,

I chooſe, by relating it to you, to trace over in my mind thoſe misfortunes, which I wiſh might be for ever blotted out of my own memory, and the annals of poſterity. But ſuch is the nature of diſgrace, that when it has fallen upon us, it is perpetually haunting our thoughts, ſince it's impreſſions are more lively and laſting than thoſe of happineſs. After the iniquity of APOLLONIDES was diſcovered and puniſhed, I asked the king to beſtow on me the government of Damaſcus; a requeſt, in which I fancied myſelf ſufficiently ſupported by my birth and quality, and my diligence in the army. By means of that faction, which has been long working in vain to ruin the credit of MEGABYZUS, it was refuſed me; and though I was civilly told, I ſhould one day be remembered, I regarded it as unbecoming the ſon of a miniſter, who had deſerved ſo well for his abilities, to endure a repulſe without reſenting it. In this too I follow his own example, and approve myſelf the heir of his virtues, who deſerted the ſervice of his prince with the ſame zeal, and from the ſame principle, which diſtinguiſhed him from all others, when he acted in it." You forget, ſaid I, one part of your father's conduct, the moſt honourable part of it, his returning to court and to his duty. Thus you ſeem to propoſe a very partial imitation of him. Forgive me, ZOPYRUS, that I take upon me the privilege of a friend, and adviſe you to conſider well, before you purſue ſuch meaſures, as may blaſt thoſe hopes, which your country has conceived of you, and put a reconciliation with ARTAXERXES beyond your power. I deſire not to enter into the ſecret policy of your ſchemes, whether

whether they are well laid, and likely to ſucceed; or whether they are refined and fantaſtic. "As to theſe, anſwered he, be under no concern." Yes, replied I, you muſt permit me to be concerned for your ſafety; nor impute this to an over-diffidence ariſing from experience, but to a well-timed diſcretion. For if men in years are apt to be ſlow in reſolving, becauſe they think it difficult to correct the bad conſequences of imprudence; remember, that youth, miſtaking the reverſe of wrong for right, imagine their ſpirit will make amends for the errors of their judgment. In what way did you leave Suſa?" "I left it, returned he, without deſiring an audience of leave, or conferring with any of the miniſters. As ſoon as GOBRYAS delivered me the king's anſwer, which, I muſt confeſs, he did in the moſt obliging manner, I went abruptly from court, to ſeek ARTYPHIUS my brother, who at that time was in the foreſt of Nyſa. He endeavoured to give me comfort under my diſappointment; but I deſpiſed it with reaſon, and told him, that I ſaw the adminiſtration of affairs would fall into the hands of TERYBAZUS the treaſurer, and BAGORAZES the cup-bearer, my father's avowed enemies; that he might expect our family would meet with no encouragement from them; and it were well, if we did not feel the effects of their oppreſſion. I added, that for my own part I was determined to be out of their reach, to court the protection of ſome foreign power, or plant a colony in ſome diſtant country. Soon after I ſet out for Athens, where I looked for an hoſpitable reception from the gratitude of this city to my mother; and you ſee, I have found it, and am thankful for it."

"Methinks

"Methinks, anſwered I, you were governed by a raſh jealouſy in miſtruſting the honor of the king, and believing, that the craft of any ſervant could induce him to neglect the ſons and dependents of MEGABYZUS. How much better had it been for you to have waited the leiſure of our ſovereign; nor thought yourſelf diſgraced in a denial of the firſt requeſt! You had now been in poſſeſſion of a rich ſatrapy, or honoured with a mark of diſtinction. In what ſtate can you expect to find equal favor or ſecurity with that, which Suſa can afford you? And as to founding a colony, you will meet with too many difficulties to make it either ſafe or deſirable, and be attended with too few followers, to prevent it from being abſurd or impracticable. Would not your time have been employed more worthily for a young man, more agreeably to yourſelf, and in the end perhaps profitably to Perſia, in the purſuit of uſeful literature with the ſages of Greece and Ægypt, in ſtudying the ſublime doctrines of ZOROASTER with the magi, or in learning the art of war under the greateſt officers of the eaſt, than in hearkening to the inſinuations of flatterers, and following the counſels of the deſperate? Is it not prepoſterous for a man to put himſelf into the hopeleſs condition of one, who has abandoned his country for a crime committed in it, by flying at firſt unneceſſarily in a haſty ſally of reſentment, and then doing ſuch actions, as muſt baniſh him for ever from it? But at the ſame time that I tell you, what different things I expected from the innate diſpoſition to virtue, and excellent underſtanding I have long ſince obſerved in you, it gives me pleaſure to reflect, that you

you cannot be diſguſted at the truth or the freedom of my cenſures." "And you would then, replied he, adviſe me to return?" "Without doubt, ſaid I; can you act more wiſely in reſpect of ARTYPHIUS and the reſt of your relations, (for as to yourſelf I will urge nothing farther, as it is, I am convinced, a conſideration of the leaſt weight with you,) I ſay in reſpect of thoſe, whom you ſo much eſteem, can you act more wiſely, than in making a proper ſubmiſſion to the court? Will not your raſhneſs bring ſuſpicions upon them, preclude the favors of the king, and perhaps prove at laſt their ruin." "That's impoſſible, interrupted he, with ſome eagerneſs. Their ſucceſs will depend on their own behaviour. CLEANDER, I am never angry with one, who ſeems to wiſh me well; but I deſire you would neither trouble yourſelf nor me any longer on this ſubject. You are an incompetent judge of my deſigns, as you are unacquainted with them; and to ſtep back, when I am advanced ſo far, would be both timorous and inconſiſtent.

Such was our converſation, noble GOBRYAS; ſuch are often the ſuggeſtions of a generous mind, miſled by youthful vanity, and unfortunately betraying it's weakneſs, when it means to diſcover it's ſtrength. Thus the young ZOPYRUS, incapable of diſtinguiſhing betwixt perſeverance and obſtinacy, is bent on nothing but acting a conſiſtent part, however indiſcreet an one; as if uniformity, for the ſake of uniformity, were not a mere imaginary beauty in a great character.

C.

LETTER

LETTER CXXXII.

CHARICLES to CLEANDER.

I Imagine, thou wilt not think I enter into an unneceſſary detail, if, beſides laying before thee an account of the manner, in which I executed thy commiſſions at Suſa, I enlarge my letter with ſome particulars of my journey thither, and of the ſtate, in which I found affairs at my arrival.

I had no ſooner ſaluted my father HIPPIAS and his family at Epheſus, than I ſet out for Sardis; where, upon informing PISUTHNES the governor, that I was ſent expreſs to court with diſpatches from Athens, he gave me immediate orders for poſt-horſes, and the beſt guides, which the province afforded. Under their direction I proceeded forward through Phrygia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Armenia, and Aſſyria, till I arrived at Suſa, ſtopping no'where any longer, than was neceſſary to take refreſhments, and change our horſes, at the ſeveral public ſtations, which by the liberality of our monarchs are erected in ſuch numbers through the provinces for the accommodation of travellers, that (as thou muſt have obſerved) there are not leſs than 111 in the road between SARDIS and SUSA *. Except the inconveniencies ariſing from the fatigue of ſo long and

* The erecting of poſt-offices for the conveyance of the king's and governor's diſpatches was an inſtitution of Cyrus's. For a further account of this matter, ſee ROLLIN's Ancient Hiſt. Vol. II.

continued

continued a journey, it was not diſagreeable to take a ſurvey, though a tranſitory one, of countries varying in their ſituation, nature, and manners; to aſcend mountains famous for their height and ſteepneſs; to croſs rivers, which viſit different kingdoms in their paſſage; and to traverſe plains with the peaceful retinue of a traveller, where the fate of empires has been decided. In particular, I could not help being ſtruck with the contraſt between Lydia and Cappadocia. The former entertains one with a view of well cultivated extended plains, hills crowned with the fineſt woods, and watered by gentle rivulets. The latter preſents one with rough craggy mountains, whoſe ſides are worn by the torrents rolling down them; vallies ſurrounded with dreadful precipices; and rivers, which in the rapidity of their courſe overflow their banks, and lay waſte the country for many paraſangs. I met on the road the equipages of ſeveral young ſatraps, who have commands in the army, which is to aſſemble near Sardis; and was grieved to find, that the number of covered litters, and baggage waggons, which tend to enervate the diſcipline of our troops, and retard their motions, was not decreaſed amongſt them; but I have ſince heard, that upon the repreſentation of HYDARNES, who is appointed general of thoſe forces, ſtrict orders have been iſſued to retrench the number of ſuch magnificent incumbrances. On my arrival at Suſa I paid my firſt reſpects to the chamberlain HYDASPES, who, induced by that affectionate regard, which he expreſſes for all, who come recommended from thee, received me with open arms, and appointed me a lodging in the

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ſpacious apartments allotted him in the palace. I was by him introduced to GOBRYAS, whom we found dictating to the ſcribes about him diſpatches to the different quarters of the empire. There is a politeneſs and humanity in the countenance and addreſs of HYDASPES, which even at firſt ſight gives you a love for his perſon; but the penetrating eye, and ſenſible look of GOBRYAS, his head grown grey in the ſervice of his prince, and the dignity of his whole appearance, inſpire a reſpect, not leſs due to the merits of his character, than the eminence of his ſtation. That great miniſter, after reading your letters, and expreſſing the ſatisfaction he always receives from them, entered into converſation with me for three hours on the poſture of affairs in Greece. During the time it laſted, I was doubtful, which moſt to admire, his condeſcenſion in hearing me diſcourſe upon ſubjects, wherein he was ſo much my ſuperior; or the extent of his capacity, which preſented every thing to his view, and the exactneſs of his judgment, which ſuffered no particular to eſcape him unexamined or unaccounted for. I find by the idea he has formed of CLEON's character, and the queſtions he asked me relating to him, he thinks, that turbulent Athenian may either be brought over to the Perſian intereſt, or at leaſt made uſe of advantageouſly in regard to the great project, which he has in view, of eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the empire, by weakening the Grecian ſtates through the means of one another. He ſeems extremely impatient for the arrival of the Lacedæmonian embaſſy, and apprehenſive, that if a blow is ſtruck on either ſide before Perſia has taken

her part in the war, the contending republics will conclude a ſudden peace: but he added, that as the jealouſies, which occaſioned this rupture, would continue, he ſcarce thought it would be durable. I endeavoured, in obedience to thy inſtructions, to diſcover, how far he would comply with thy deſire of being recalled from thy hazardous employment; but from the manner in which he received the hints I let fall, and the unanimous opinion of thy other friends, I think it by no means proper to preſs that affair any farther at preſent. When our conference was ended, he told me, he hoped the court of Suſa would afford pleaſures ſufficient to detain me here ſome time; not, added he ſmiling, that we will keep you as an hoſtage for your uncle's fidelity; but ſince in two or three months we may have occaſion to ſend him diſpatches of the higheſt importance, I would willingly ſecure ſo truſty and expeditious a meſſenger as yourſelf to convey them. I replied, I ſhould expect his permiſſion and commands, before I thought of returning to Athens; and ſo took my leave.

Amidſt the variety of objects to engage my attention here, I have not been unmindful, as far as opportunity ſerved, to enquire into the points, which thou gaveſt me in charge; viz. the continuance of thy enemies practices, and the ſtate of parties at the court. As to the firſt, I am well aſſured, that the intereſt of GOBRYAS, ſo ſeaſonably exerted in your behalf, and the expreſſions, which the king himſelf uſed in your favor, were more than ſufficient to confound their malevolent deſigns. But depend upon it, the malice of TERIBAZUS, whatever countenance he puts on, is by no means

means diminiſhed; he ſtill reſents the diſappointment of his chimerical alliance, which he attributes to thy artifice; and whenever his power can ſecond his inclination, thou art like to feel the effects of his diſpleaſure; ſo true is the old maxim, that thoſe, who commit an injury, can never forgive. The animoſities between him and GOBRYAS, which were carried on with great warmth on both ſides, are now to all outward appearance ſubſided, in obedience to the king's expreſs direction, who ſent for them into his apartment, and exhorted them to unite, at this important juncture, in carrying on his ſervice; "And, if there muſt be a contention between you, ſaid the king, let it be in promoting ſuch meaſures, as tend to my honor, and the public welfare."

Your patron is thought to have carried a great point in bringing ARTAPHERNES into the council of ſeven, when the intereſt of TISSAPHERNES, maſter of the horſe, was ſtrongly eſpouſed by TERIBAZUS. In few words, I take the intereſts of theſe two miniſters to lie thus: GOBRYAS is ſtrongly ſupported by a perſonal ſhare in the king's favor, and the general eſteem, which the integrity of his behaviour, and his experience in buſineſs, have gained him throughout the eaſt. TERIBAZUS relies on his addreſs in creating dependants to himſelf, his never-failing management of court-intrigues, and the intereſt, which he always takes care to cultivate with thoſe ladies, whoſe charms at any time make the deepeſt impreſſion on his maſter. Whilſt he pays the moſt ſervile court to the reigning monarch, he neglects not recommending himſelf to the future one,

by the means of PHARNALYAS, chief eunuch to XERXES *. That young prince affords but a diſagreeable proſpect to Perſia. Shut up in the utmoſt receſſes of his palace, he devotes his whole life to effeminate pleaſures; beſtowing his confidence and bounties on thoſe only, who can heighten luxury with moſt elegance, and keep his vicious inclinations perpetually alive by freſh ſcenes of debauchery. Alike regardleſs of the happineſs of nations, which will one day be entruſted to his care, and the wiſe admonitions of his father, he plunges out of one courſe of riot into another, without any real inclination to virtue, or even ſenſe of ſhame. SOGDIANUS, the eldeſt of the king's illegitimate children, is remarkable for an outward generoſity and openneſs of temper, is fond of manly ſports, and affects making himſelf agreeable to the ſoldiery; but thoſe, who know him beſt, aſſure me, he is a maſter of the art of diſſimulation, and has at the bottom a great mixture of brutality and roughneſs. OCHUS ſtill continues in the government of Hyrcania, where he behaves himſelf to the general ſatisfaction of the people †.

* Hiſtory confirms the characters, which CHARICLES gives of theſe princes. XERXES, who ſucceeded his father, reigned but a few days, being aſſaſſinated by his brother SOGDIANUS after a debauch, in which he had drank to exceſs. The latter uſurped the crown; but ſoon made himſelf ſo unpopular by his many acts of cruelty, that almoſt the whole empire joined in ſupporting the claim of OCHUS, who took the name of DARIUS NOTHUS, and was one of the wiſeſt and beſt monarchs, who ever ſat on the Perſian throne. Note by the Tranſlator.

† Ibid.

It is remarked, that the provinces never enjoyed a ſtate of ſuch profound tranquillity; which is attributed in a great meaſure to the exact obſervance of an excellent regulation eſtabliſhed by our ancient monarchs, viz. the ſending inſpectors of approved juſtice and diſcernment annually through the empire, to examine the behaviour of the governors, and hear the complaints of the ſubjects.

Thus have I laid before you the preſent face of things in this court, with more freedom than your Perſian friends would venture to do, and with an impartiality (unbiaſſed, as I am, to any ſide) which will make amends for the other deficiencies of this narration. If I was not ſenſible, how much you preferred the real offices of reſpect to the moſt eloquent profeſſions of them, I might lengthen out this letter by acknowledgments of your kindneſs to me at Athens, and the recommendations, with which you accompanied me hither. Give me leave, however, to ſay this, that I ſhall think myſelf unworthy the near relation I bear to you, when I ceaſe making your virtues the pattern of my actions, and your inſtructions the rule of my conduct.

The end of the ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war.

A. M. 3579. *4th year of the* 88*th Olymp.*

The ſeventh year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER CXXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

AFTER having diſpatched away CHARICLES to Suſa with the fulleſt account of the ſtate of affairs in this city, I reſolved to defer writing, till it could reaſonably be conjectured, upon what plan the campaign of this ſummer would proceed, and where the ſtreſs of the war would lie. I cannot ſay, that things are yet arrived at a criſis, important enough to determine the laſt reſolutions of the contending ſtates, as to peace amongſt themſelves, or further alliances with foreign powers; but ſome late remarkable tranſactions about PYLUS, which begin to draw the force and attention of Greece to thoſe parts, induce me to lay before the Perſian council the ſtate of a war, which ambition, mutual jealouſies, and domeſtic factions have lengthened out to it's ſeventh year.

PYLUS is a fort ſituated in the territory of the Meſſenians, not above four hundred ſtadia from Sparta itſelf. The place is by nature extremely ſtrong, particularly towards the ſea, where the coaſt is defended by a chain of rocks; and it has the advantage of a ſafe and ſpacious harbour. A little off the ſhore lies the ſmall deſert iſland of Sphacteria, which ſo ſtreightens the entrance of the port, that no more than two ſhips can enter abreaſt.

abreaſt. Early in the ſpring the Athenians ſent out a fleet of forty ſail, under the command of SOPHOCLES and EURYMEDON, to aſſiſt their allies in Sicily. They had likewiſe inſtructions to ſtop at Corcyra in their paſſage, and reduce the remains of the ariſtocratical faction there, who have taken up arms, and fortified themſelves in the mountains. DEMOSTHENES, the late general in Ætolia, who was aboard the fleet, adviſed them in a council of war, to detach a ſquadron, and take poſſeſſion of Pylus. He repreſented it as a place of great importance, which would give them an opportunity of making incurſions into Laconia, and retaliating upon the Lacedæmonians the ravages, which Attica had ſuffered during the war. He argued farther, that it would animate the Meſſenians, who had been ſubdued and cruelly treated by the republic of Sparta, to throw off the yoke, and excite the Helots to riſe, and free themſelves from the oppreſſions of harſh and ſevere maſters. However plauſible this propoſal might appear, the other generals refuſed to give their conſent to it; for they urged, that the advantages of ſeizing Pylus would not countervail the charge and difficulty of keeping it. Obſerve the caprice of fortune, noble ſcribe; chance effected, what all the plauſible reaſoning of DEMOSTHENES could not compaſs. A contrary wind ariſing in their paſſage drove them into the very harbour of Pylus, where, as they were obliged to land and refreſh their men, the ſoldiers took ſuch a liking to the place, that, without ſtaying for orders, they began to fortify it of themſelves, and in ſix days time put it out of any danger of a ſurprize. It was in

vain for the officers to oppoſe the work, when once it was put in execution, and they found it agreeable to the army. They therefore made DEMOSTHENES governor of the fort, left him a ſmall gariſon and five ſhips to defend it, and held on their courſe for Corcyra. The news of taking Pylus found Sparta engaged in the celebration of ſome great feſtival; and though at firſt they affected to deſpiſe it, the magiſtrates, upon better conſideration, ſent orders to their king AGIS, who had entered Attica at the head of the Peloponneſian army, and was laying waſte an exhauſted country, to return immediately, and expel the Athenians from Pylus. They alſo uſed their utmoſt diligence in aſſembling a fleet from Corinth, and their other allies, to block up the place by ſea. The ſubmiſſion and exactneſs, with which the mandates of the ephori are obeyed, is inexpreſſible. The land army amounting to twelve thouſand men, which had ſtayed but fifteen days in Attica, decamped immediately, and marched towards the extremity of Peloponneſus, to form the ſiege of Pylus. About the ſame time a ſquadron of ſixty ſail appeared off the place, and put the gariſon out of all hopes of receiving proviſion or relief. DEMOSTHENES, on the point of being beſieged both by land and ſea, ſent an account of his diſtreſs to NICIAS commander of the Athenian ſquadron at ZACYNTHUS, deſiring immediate ſuccours, without which he could not anſwer for the ſafety of the place; and at the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers hither to requeſt, that further reinforcements might be got ready with all expedition; but unluckily for the Athenians, there have been

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ſo many delays, to which their counſels are very liable, that the Lacedæmonians have made all their preparations without diſturbance. We hear, they have inveſted Pylus on all ſides; their land forces have caſt up intrenchments, and are preparing machines to attack the walls. THRASYMELIDAS, the admiral, is ready to ſhut up the entrance of the port with a double line of galleys, and has thrown a detachment of picked men into the iſland of Sphacteria, in order to complete the blockade, and prevent the only thing, they are apprehenſive of, the relief of Pylus by ſea. Moſt people here, from the ſmalneſs of the gariſon, and the ſtrength of the beſieging army, give the place for loſt, unleſs NICIAS makes ſome briſk and ſpeedy effort to raiſe the ſiege; but that, his enemies affirm, is not to be expected from the timidity of his nature, and the ſlowneſs of his reſolutions.

As I am now writing, noble ſcribe, I am told, that an expreſs, who with great hazard has eſcaped through the beſieger's lines, is arrived from Pylus, and gone directly to the Prytanes. The multitude begin to fill the ſtreets, and require with clamours an immediate ſummons to the aſſembly.

I am juſt returned from it, and can aſſure thee, that he brings an account of a moſt deſperate aſſault ſuſtained by the gariſon the thirteenth of this moon. The Lacedæmonians attacked the fort by ſea with good hopes of ſucceſs; for though the rocks and roughneſs of the waves were no ſmall hindrances to their deſign, the fortifications in that part were weakeſt. DEMOSTHENES put himſelf at the head of three hundred hea-

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vy-armed ſoldiers and a few archers, whom he drew up on the ſhore; and after animating them by a ſhort but ſpirited harangue, determined his brave followers to ſtand the aſſault. The enemy made their attack by different ſquadrons, which ſucceeded each other; but they met with ſo warm a reception, that none of the ſhips were able to diſembark their men. BRASIDAS the Spartan obliged his pilot to run him a-ground, and attempted to land his ſoldiers; and though no one could behave with more perſonal bravery than that gallant officer, killing ſeveral of thoſe, who defended the place, with his own hand, yet after receiving ſeveral wounds, which diſabled him from giving orders, he put back to ſea with great difficulty. His buckler, which was dropt in the fight and taken, was ſet up by DEMOSTHENES, as a trophy of his ſucceſs, when the action was over; which, for the time it laſted, the expreſs ſays, all confeſſed was the hotteſt they ever were engaged in.

As the ſiege of Pylus ſeems likely to collect the main force both of Athens and Sparta, and the former are not leſs eager to preſerve, than the latter are to recover their poſſeſſion of the fort; ſome deciſive ſtroke, it is imagined, muſt enſue.

Thou wilt receive from CRATIPPUS the certainty, of what I am here told, that the ruling party of Sparta are haſtening away their embaſſadors to the ſublime court. Whilſt they are uncertain, how this affair will end, the king may obtain advantageous terms; but good fortune will render them inſolent, and adverſity oblige them to ſtrike up a ſudden accommodation. There

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are a ſet of men in this republic, potent lord, who would not be diſpleaſed to anticipate Sparta in the project of a Perſian league. PYTHON preſſes the neceſſity of it in all his diſpatches; and in his laſt, after acquainting the ſenate with the conference, of which thou ſenteſt me a relation, aſſures them, "that the miniſtry of the great king are reſolved to make the beſt uſe of the diſſentions in Greece; that no remonſtrances or ſoftening ſpeeches he can frame, will prevent their aſſiſting the party, which offers the moſt profitable conditions; that the point is not now, whether it would be honourable for the Greeks to unite with Barbarians, but whether Athens, or her enemies, ſhall reap the benefit of the Perſian arms." This meaſure is notwithſtanding ſo diſagreeable at preſent to the majority of the people, who think their own ſtrength ſufficient to carry them through all difficulties, and would give ſuch a handle to NICIAS and his friends to complain, that there was an intention to perpetuate the war, that thoſe, who are in their hearts the greateſt advocates for it, dare not openly propoſe it in the aſſembly. ZOPYRUS, whoſe arrival here I ſignified in my laſt letters, has collected a body of adventurers of different nations, Corcyreans, Rhodians, and Athenians, with whom he intends to make a ſettlement at Caunus; and, by his intelligence in the place, hopes to become maſter of it without much difficulty. The expences of this expedition are defrayed by a ſociety of Athenian merchants, who are tempted to come into it, by the convenient ſituation of Caunus for trade, and the commodiouſneſs of it's port and arſenal. ZOPYRUS carries with him ten

ten ſhips, having five hundred men on board, and will ſail in a few days. I have already put AMORGES, governor of Caria, on his guard, and exhorted him to reinforce the caſtle of Imbrus, and ſeize all ſuſpected perſons. It grieves me, generous GOBRYAS, that the ſon of my illuſtrious patron ſhould behave himſelf in a manner ſo diſreputable to his name, family, and fortunes. But we often ſee, that ARIMANIUS takes a malignant pleaſure in clouding the memory of an eminent perſon with diſgrace, by leading into vice, or overwhelming with calamities, his degenerate or unhappy poſterity.

P.

LETTER CXXXIV.

HIPPIAS to CLEANDER. From Epheſus.

THE capricious Athenians, among whom thou ſojourneſt, cannot even ſacrifice to the exigencies of the commonwealth, their inſatiable thirſt, and unaccountable eagerneſs after news. How often haſt thou heard them in their portico's, when their fate and fortunes ſeemed to be in imminent hazard, idly inquiſitive, and prepoſterouſly ſolicitous about the trivial and domeſtic occurrences of private men and families, hardly worthy the attention of the moſt diſengaged inhabitant of that potent city? And can thy brother then want an excuſe for diverting a while, in this way, the courſe of thy ſage meditations; whoſe humble and obſcure ſtation ſetteth him far below ſuch anxiety for the public, which in him would be intolerable affectation;

ſectation; while yet the love of his country inſpireth him with the moſt ardent wiſhes for it's proſperity, and engageth him in never ceaſing ſupplications to the divine OROMASDES, for the continuance of the health of ARTAXERXES, and the ſucceſs of his wiſe and able miniſters? Yet before I turn to the peculiar ſubject of this letter, let me aſſure thee, that thy laſt diſpatch of the ſixth day of the preceding moon was tranſmitted to the noble GOBRYAS, with the fidelity and expedition, which I have ever obſerved, ſince I was honoured with the charge of receiving thy informations, and forwarding them to the Perſian court. The city, in which I live, regardleſs in great meaſure of the buſtle and havock, which agitate the oppoſite coaſts of Greece, and only intent on ſchemes for the improvement of trade, and encouragement of arts, hath ſuffered itſelf to be called off, for a little while, even from theſe important contemplations, and is now almoſt univerſally taken up in diſcourſing and debating on a late event, which hath amazed them all; and which, how unintereſting ſoever it may be to others, is not ſo to thee, from a long and intimate acquaintance with the perſons, to whom it relates.

Thou muſt needs remember when thou lefteſt Epheſus laſt, with how much warmth and eagerneſs of love the young and lively HELIODORUS purſued the eldeſt and faireſt of the charming offspring of the venerable DIOPHANES, the prieſt of JUPITER. Thou canſt not forget, with how much inoffenſive pleaſantry, and genuine Attic wit, thou waſt wont to accuſe the amorous and gay ſervant of APOLLO, of almoſt giving up his duty to his paſſion; and making the cloiſters of that temple, in which he

conſtantly reſideth, reſound much more and oftner with the praiſes of the beautiful ANTIOPE, than even with thoſe of the far-beaming God, whoſe altar is day and night illuminated with a thouſand burning tapers, in feint and feeble emulation of his enlivening rays, and at the foot of whoſe reſplendent ſhrine innumerable votaries repoſe themſelves nightly, hoping to obtain from the father of oracles ſome prophetic impulſes, concerning their future lives and fortunes. Every one here ſeemed to wiſh, and even to augurate ſucceſs to ſo well-grounded an affection; and declared by almoſt an unanimous ſuffrage and judgment, that the Gods themſelves had, as it were, deſignedly formed the charms of ANTIOPE, to bleſs her agreeable adorer; and the natural gaiety and eaſy vivacity of HELIODORUS, to complete the happineſs of his beloved miſtreſs. Thou mighteſt have ſeen them often together, ſoon as the radiant MITHRAS had withdrawn his ſultry beam to gladden nations, now pining and ſickening at his regretted abſence, walking hand in hand along the ſacred grove, which ſurroundeth APOLLO's Fane; followed by the applauſes of multitudes, who were ſcarce able to reſtrain their tongues from crying after them, what their thoughts had often whiſpered to them in ſilence, Go on, ye lovely, loving pair! Go on and proſper! Enjoy unenvied the natural converſe of each other, with a ſatisfaction and happineſs peculiarly your own! Nor did it appear ever, that the virgin herſelf was ill pleaſed with theſe whiſpers and rumours, which ſome one or other was perpetually acquainting her with; whilſt her lover diſcovered by an inexpreſſible gaiety,

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which he took no pains to conceal or to excuſe, how ſtrongly and how agreeably he was affected with this general deſtination of ſo much ſweetneſs and goodneſs to his arms. His ſpirits ever chearful, and raiſed far above thoſe of his equals, and familiars, and collegues, were viſibly and remarkably higher for ſome months. In good humour with himſelf and all about him, he ſeemed to have obtained to himſelf a fore-taſte of the bliſs, which all men beſtowed on him; and which he ſeemed deſirous to repay them by an affability and eaſe, which gladdened all, who came near him. His converſation, ever ſprightly and flowing, became now in a much greater degree ſo; and what in moſt lovers is wont to drive away their beſt friends, the never-ceaſing recital of the fancied charms and imaginary accompliſhments of their miſtreſſes, (tireſom ſubject to an indifferent ear!) was yet ſo varied and diverſified by the inexhauſtible vein of HELIODORUS, that I have heard many profeſs, (and I cannot but profeſs the ſame of myſelf) they could hear him with pleaſure deſcanting hours together on the ſame reputed irkſome topic. His lyre, the exact type of himſelf, was never ſilent. Every charm and grace of ANTIOPE, (and thou knoweſt what all Greece ſayeth and thinketh of her matchleſs beauty and wit,) furniſhed his fruitful genius with freſh matter for ſome new ode or hymn, which he would come forth and chaunt to his lyre, while the walls of the temple rendered back each harmonious accord in repeating ecchoes, and the voices of it's officers, from the higheſt to the loweſt, (ſuch was their love of HELIODORUS!) ſtill joined in chorus with the raviſhed

viſhed author, and in concert with him gave their aſcent and applauſe to each enraptured thought.

Nothing, it was thought, would or could diſconcert their loves. Yet, couldſt thou think it? the cruel fair one, too fond of emulating the ſilver-ſhafted queen, whoſe worſhip is eſtabliſhed here, and of ſpending her life in devotion and a perpetual attendance on the ſervice of the great DIANA in her magnificent temple, hath, within theſe few days, peremptorily forbidden the late ſanguine votary of PHOEBUS, to entertain any hopes of her ever yielding to his deſires, which he now thought it proper to make an open profeſſion of. Nor can the grave authority of DIOPHANES, nor the winning eloquence of her brother CHARAXUS, whoſe long friendſhip with HELIODORUS, and their common employment, in the ſervice of the temple, had fixed firmly in his intereſts; no, nor the ſofter and ſweeter perſuaſions of her fair ſiſters PENELOPE and EUCHARIS, the leaſt influence the reſolute and inexorable maid to a change of her romantic and viſionary purpoſe. Thoſe amiable virgins, CLEANDER, her ſiſters, (far removed from that narrowneſs of ſpirit, which graſps to itſelf all things, and draws every body into it's own power, and which is the certain and never-failing concomitant of a mean and abject ſoul,) think no ſcorn to recommend earneſtly and warmly the ſlighted lover to their miſguided and ill-directed ſiſter. Senſible of her irreſiſtible charms, which they can praiſe themſelves, and hear praiſed by others, not with patience only and temper, but with pleaſure and ſatisfaction; and not inſenſible of the merit and good qualities of one, whom they

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in no ſort think the worſe of, for not having preferred either of them to their ſiſter; they vouchſafe to employ all the arguments, and all the kind arts they are miſtreſſes of, (and what is the art, of which they are not miſtreſſes?) in his behalf, and for his ſervice. Figure to thyſelf, CLEANDER, the ſituation; imagine the alteration, which this unexpected and aſtoniſhing event has made in the diſappointed and thunderſtruck youth! Think thou ſeeſt the gay, the loud, the talkative, the laughing HELIODORUS, ſunk in miſery, grief, and melancholy! Imagine, thou heareſt him, (for he hath at laſt broken through the obſtinate and ſullen ſilence, which he ſtrictly kept for ſeveral days,) loudly and paſſionately complaining, not of ANTIOPE, whom he never mentioneth but with tranſport, and unextinguiſhed affection; but of the immortal Gods themſelves, and their providence! Bold licentious man! Yet this, CLEANDER, is allowed by the principles of Grecian piety. How widely different from thoſe, with which the ſage ZOROASTRES hath inſpired the enlightened worſhippers of the great and glorious OROMASDES! This vain young man is now going to indulge the black humour, which governs him at preſent, and which ſuggeſts nothing to his tortured ſoul, but anguiſh and deſpair, at a ſmall village, many paraſangs north of this city; where he ſome time ſince obtained (of that noble and generous patron, whoſe bounty and liberality had before ſupported him in ſplendor and plenty at Epheſus, and on whom thou haſt often heard him enlarge with rapture, and a natural eloquence, which his great ſubject always gave him,) the more humble and retired

poſt of Neocorus to a ſmall temple, reared in the centre of a dark and thick wood (gloomy as his own thoughts) to the tutelar god of that diſtrict.

Thus, CLEANDER, although indeed the virgin-goddeſs DIANA be the great and celebrated divinity of the miſtaken Epheſians; yet VENUS and her artful ſon find means, as thou ſeeſt, to inſinuate their worſhip here, and to ſhed their baneful influence over the unhappy and unguarded youth. May the gracious OROMASDES preſerve my CLEANDER from all ſuch infection, and from the dangerous converſe of the virgins of Attica! which, however it may at firſt appear a ſpecious and inviting amuſement, is no other, nor better, than a peſtilent emanation from the deteſted ARIMANIUS, the author and ſource of all human evils! Adieu.

LETTER CXXXV.

CLEANDER to ALEXIAS, chief Phyſician to ARTAXERXES King of Perſia.

ACcording to thy deſire, I have employed an able friend to procure thee a copy of HIPPOCRATES's genuine works; a buſineſs, that requires no ſmall judgment; for a great number of ſpurious pieces are publiſhed under the name of this famous phyſician. I have likewiſe endeavoured to get thee ſome account of his life and character; for which purpoſe I have made many enquiries of a philoſopher here in Athens, who has applied himſelf more particularly to the ſtudy of phyſic. He informs me, that the practice of this art has long been in the hands of the meaneſt and moſt ignorant

norant of the people. Any, who by chance had got a few receipts, immediately called themſelves phyſicians, and were applied to as ſuch, though they had no general knowledge of the natures and virtues of ſimples, and were wholly ignorant of the ſtructure of the human body; the ſtudy of theſe being kept entirely among the philoſophers. Such was the ſtate of phyſic, when HIPPOCRATES, the ſon of HERACLIDES, was born in the iſland of Cos. He is deſcended from a long race of phyſicians, being the ſeventeenth in a direct line from ÆSCULAPIUS, the deified inventor of healing amongſt the Greeks, whoſe art was profeſſed by all his deſcendants down to HIPPOCRATES. For the Egyptian cuſtom of inſtructing the children in their parents employment prevails ſo much among the phyſicians here, that their diſciples and followers are always called, by a peculiar title, *the Sons of the phyſicians*. Beſides the family receipts, which had been handed down from father to ſon, and the collected experience of all his anceſtors, HIPPOCRATES increaſed that knowledge, which was his patrimony, by hearing HERODICUS, the inventor of gymnaſtic phyſic, which is too ſeverely called by a certain Athenian, "The art of preſerving their lives, who ought not to live, and continuing valetudinarians a burden to themſelves and ſociety." His native iſland of Cos afforded him a ſingular advantage, by having in it a temple of ÆSCULAPIUS full of votive-tablets, on which were regiſtered many cures, and the means, by which they were effected; all which he diligently ſtudied and tranſcribed. He has farther endeavoured to inform himſelf of the practice, which ob-

tained, wherever he travelled, as he has done into moſt countries, though he has chiefly been confined to Theſſaly. For this the Greek phyſicians are obliged to do, not only in purſuit of knowledge, and for their improvement, but for their employment and ſupport; the ſtates here, unlike our luxurious cities, being unable to maintain a ſettled phyſician. It is hard to ſay, whether he has moſt advanced the knowledge or the uſefulneſs of phyſic, by introducing a practice, which was not common before his time, of conſtantly viſiting the ſick in their beds; by which careful attendance to the whole courſe of the diſtemper, he has not only been able to give a timely aſſiſtance againſt every inconvenient or dangerous accident, but is become ſuperior to all other phyſicians in the knowledge of diſeaſes, and in foretelling their events. From this practice he has got the name of a Clinic phyſician. Nor is he leſs indebted to nature for a ſound underſtanding, than to fortune and his own induſtry for theſe uncommon opportunities of improving it. No wonder therefore, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of his contemporary practitioners. But this glory was too little for HIPPOCRATES; he ſaw with regret, that part of his province was invaded by the philoſophers; and reſolved to take it out of their hands. With this view he applied himſelf to HERACLITUS of Epheſus, to GORGIAS the Sophiſt, and DEMOCRITUS of Abdera. Of them he not only learned the reaſons and foundations of his practice, but was alſo enabled to write with method and elegance; which has juſtly gained him the reputation of being the firſt, who collected the ſcattered precepts

cepts of phyſic into an art, and delivered them in a clear and eloquent manner. He has taken great pains to ſecure to the phyſicians ſo much of the ſtudy of nature, as they are concerned with, diſtinct from the other parts of philoſophy, and has in all probability ſeparated the two profeſſions for ever. If his philoſophy makes him far ſuperior to the common practicers of phyſic, his practice makes him no leſs excel the ſpeculative ſtudents of it. On the one hand he is preſerved from the uſeleſs refinements of theoriſts, as on the other from the groſs errors and ſuperſtitions of vulgar empirics; both which my friend, with his uſual candor, acknowledges, that he frequently rallies with great good ſenſe; telling the ſpeculative philoſophers, that "their viſionary enquiries about the principles and formation of the human body would be of as much uſe to a painter in drawing it's form, as to a phyſician in curing it's diſeaſes:" And as for the empirics, upon occaſion of their calling the epilepſy a ſacred diſtemper, he ſays, "that this was firſt conſecrated by them, in order that it's divinity might be an aſylum for their ignorance and inability to cure it; ſince it gave them a pretence to attack it with charms and expiations; and, if theſe did not ſucceed, the gods only were to be blamed." My philoſophical acquaintance aſſures me, that this is the true merit of HIPPOCRATES; and that, for all beyond it, he is indebted to the common vanity in diſciples of magnifying their maſter, and to that humor of mankind, which will not let them ſit down contented with any thing moderate. He frequently expreſſes his apprehenſions, that the extravagant character,

which ſome have given him, may do a great deal of miſchief, if it makes men reſt in what he has done, and refer every thing to his authority. For though (my friend continued) he is ſomewhere ſo ſanguine as to aſſert, that the whole of phyſic is now found out; yet in reality the art is but ſtill in it's infancy, and this great man has only begun, what cannot be perfected without the accurate obſervations of many ages. In particular, he is not maſter of a ſufficient number of ſimples for all the various purpoſes of phyſic; and does not perhaps fully underſtand the true uſes and qualities of thoſe he has; for too much ſtreſs ſeems to be laid on ſome ineffectual ones, while others more violent in their effects are uſed with too little caution. The ſtudy of anatomy is ſtill leſs advanced; all that is known of it is derived, either comparatively from the animals, that are ſacrificed, or from the Ægyptian embalmers of human bodies; and I much doubt, whether HIPPOCRATES ever ſaw a human body diſſected. However, he has endeavoured to ſupply, from fancy and conjecture, his imperfect knowledge of the ſtructure and true uſe of the parts; but, as is uſual, where this is done, his accounts are generally improbable, often ridiculous and inconſiſtent. He has farther often lamented to me, when I have thrown this ſubject in his way, that HIPPOCRATES has endeavoured to dazzle the world with a ſpecious ſhew of knowledge, where there is great reaſon to believe, that he is wholly ignorant, in attempting to unfold the cauſes and hidden nature of diſtempers; " which, ſaid my friend, he had much better have let alone, and confined himſelf

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to (what is the only valuable part of his works) a faithful hiſtory of diſeaſes, though even here he is juſtly ſuſpected of aſſerting more than he was ever authorized from obſervation and experience; as when he ſays, that forty times ſeven days have a peculiar influence over the birth of a child; that diſtempers kill men chiefly on the odd day; and that the remarkable ſtruggles of nature towards a criſis are regulated by the number ſeven; all which his diſciples firmly believe, though the more knowing look upon it as a fantaſtical application of PYTHAGORAS's myſtic philoſophy. In other matters he has been too haſty in forming his axioms, and in reducing to a certain rule things depending on too many circumſtances, to be fixed by the obſervations of one man, if not too uncertain to be ever fixed at all."

Indeed I could not help thinking myſelf, that the common ſtories, which are told of him, are very idle; and that there is nothing ſo miraculous in this great phyſician, when I amuſed myſelf one day, ſince his works have been in my houſe for you, in computing, how many patients he ſaved out of thoſe, whoſe hiſtories he gives in his epidemics; for it appears, that out of forty two, only ſeventeen eſcaped. Do not wonder at his mentioning, as I find he does, ſuch food, as the fleſh of aſſes, horſes, dogs and foxes; for theſe are eaten without any ſcruple in Greece. Among the many ſtories, I cannot help mentioning to thee one, which is often told as an inſtance of his extraordinary ſagacity. He was ſent for to PERDICCAS, the preſent king of Macedonia, who languiſhed under a ſort of conſumption, that was attended with very uncommon

ſymptoms. HIPPOCRATES obſerved his patient change color, and ſuffer much diſorder, whenever PHILA, the late king's miſtreſs, entered the chamber. Upon which he immediately found out and diſcovered to PHILA, that a paſſion for her was the true cauſe of his illneſs. The love-ſick prince was treated accordingly, and the ſucceſs verified our phyſician's judgment. I dare ſay, thou wilt ſmile at the romantic air of this relation, and think with me, that if the dexterous management of ſuch an affair was the proper teſt of a phyſician, the old chief eunuch BAGOAS would have a much fairer title to be reputed one, than HIPPOCRATES. As to morality, his reputation is very high: he is ſuperior to a love of money, and freely communicates his art for the relief of the neceſſitous and ſtrangers. Perſia is well acquainted with the love he bears his country, which made him prefer the life of a wanderer to the dignity of that exalted ſtation, which thou ſo deſervedly enjoyeſt. For which, and his many eminent ſervices, he has been made free of Athens, and initiated in the Eleuſinian myſteries; and a maintenance in the Prytaneum, at the publick charge, is decreed to him and his poſterity. The oath, which he enjoins his followers before he teaches them his art, muſt give thee a great opinion of his ſtrict integrity; it forbids them to procure abortions, to adminiſter poiſon, to make any ill uſe of the free acceſs they have to houſes, or betray the confidence repoſed in them. All which he inſiſts upon their ſwearing to obſerve by APOLLO, ÆSCULAPIUS, HYGEIA, PANACEA, and all the other gods and goddeſſes; and that they may ſo proſper in their profeſ-

ſion, as they keep this oath. However he has given offence to ſome grave men by a rule of health, which he delivers, that a man ought to drink twice a month to ſome exceſs. It were to be wiſhed, that he could as eaſily anſwer a worſe crime, that he is charged with, in relation to a young ſlave, who danced and ſung at the theatre. She was a great favourite of the public, and brought her miſtreſs in very conſiderable ſums of money; for the Athenians ſet ſo high a value on theſe accompliſhments, that the celebrated performers not only make a part at all great feaſts, but even a ſelect company * of philoſophers will break off their converſation on the moſt important points to attend to theſe diverſions. The miſtreſs of this famous dancer one day made a diſcovery of her being pregnant, and was very uneaſy to think, that all her gain would ſoon be over, if this was ſuffered to go on. She therefore applied to HIPPOCRATES, who owns, that at her requeſt he procured an abortion, though in direct contradiction to his oath. I remember likewiſe to have heard him accuſed of ſetting fire to ÆSCULAPIUS's temple at Cos, and the library at Cnidus, after he had tranſcribed their regiſters; but theſe are generally looked upon as groundleſs calumnies.

May the lights, which thou receiveſt from this celebrated Coan, enable thee to fulfil the ardent wiſhes of Perſia, that ARTAXERXES may live for ever.

E.

* Xenoph. Sympos.

LETTER

LETTER CXXXVI.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

THOU ſeemeſt to have been tranſported beyond the bounds of humanity in thy laſt letter; for the virgins of Attica ſhould by no means be involved in the ſame cenſure with thoſe of Epheſus. Think not, that I deſpiſe thy friendly caution, or the paſſion of HELIODORUS. But let me recommend it to thee as a circumſtance of high entertainment, that CLEANDER, who was educated in the ſeverer ſtudies of philoſophy, and has converſed entirely with ſtateſmen and merchants, ſhould zealouſly vindicate the character, and court the company of the fair ſex. Such is the alteration, which time has made in me, and the nature of my employment.

I was yeſterday in an aſſembly of Athenian matrons at the houſe of ASPASIA, with whom I have cultivated a correſpondence ever ſince my introduction to PERICLES. She has continually received me with the moſt engaging condeſcenſion, and abounds in ſo many elegant turns of wit, and in ſuch a variety of good knowledge and good ſenſe, that no one here is either equal or ſuperior to her, except the great SOCRATES. As ſoon as the performers on the lute and harp were retired, with moſt of the perſons, who were invited, we drew together into a circle, and ASPASIA led the converſation. She amuſed us with ſome curious anecdotes of PERICLES, (for whoſe memory ſhe expreſſed the tendereſt

tendereſt regard,) and entered into large diſſertations on ſeveral ſubjects. At laſt ſhe applied to me, and began to aſk me concerning the manners of the ladies in thoſe parts of the world, where I had travelled. "I conjecture, ſaid ſhe, from the treatment, which the women have met with in almoſt all ſtates, it muſt have been the opinion of philoſophers and legiſlators, "that they have no ſouls." Elſe why are they not admitted into the greater myſteries? and why are they denied the improvements of letters and the politer arts? In Athens, however, we are allowed in more privileges than in many places, and are uſed like rational creatures. But tell me, CLEANDER, the reſult of your obſervations on the ſex, and the different lights, in which it appears through the mediums of different laws, prejudices, and faſhions. Perhaps you have not turned your thoughts this way, ſince I know the men have a contempt for our underſtandings, and forget, that ſuch a diſparity ariſes from the acquirements of education, not the natural capacity." "It is impoſſible, anſwered I, for any one to forget ſo clear a truth, and have ſeen the excellent ASPASIA. The liberty indulged to the ladies in this city is adapted to anſwer all the good purpoſes of the promiſcuous converſation in Ionia, (particularly in Epheſus, the chief reſidence of luxury;) and their own ſenſe more effectually reſtrains them from the wantonneſs ſo juſtly imputed to that country, than the bolts and bars of the eaſt. Here alone they are not ſlaves to their husbands or their pleaſures." "You are a little ſevere, replied ſhe, on your native place; yet I am convinced, that what you

ſay

ſay is founded on fact. And, for my own part, I have often conſidered the pompous worſhip and temple of the DIANA of Epheſus, as preſenting a very lively emblem of the genius of that city. Both are fitter for the Cyprian VENUS, than for her, who is reverenced as the guardian Deity of groves and mountains." "The romantic analogy you have diſcovered, continued I, between the effeminacy and the religion of Epheſus, is prettily conceived. But the ſpeculation, I was running into, is of a more abſtruſe kind; and I would repeat, ASPASIA, with your leave, the remarks I have made as to the influence of various ſtates on the manners of the ladies." "I am all attention," ſaid ſhe with ſingular politeneſs.

"Then, ſaid I, to ſpeak in the language of a politician to a great miſtreſs of politics, an arbitrary conſtitution of government muſt always take away the rights and intercourſe of perſonal friendſhip among both ſexes, and make itſelf be felt in the innocent amuſements of private life, as well as the management of public buſineſs. Nor can I think, that this altogether proceeds from the ſuſpicious nature of thoſe governments, but from every man's deſire to imitate in his domeſtic oeconomy that example, which is ſet in the political. Hence it is, that a ſingle national tyrant makes many family ones; and when the body of a nation becomes inured to deſpotic ſway, the ſentiments, that favor it, find the readieſt admiſſion. Notwithſtanding the abſurdity of them, they are embraced as ſound principles, and inſenſibly make their way, through the deluded underſtanding, into the temper and the manners of that people. If the great monarch of the country

country impriſons a ſubject, or deprives him of his eſtate and honors, without aſſigning a reaſon or producing an accuſation, the little monarch imagines himſelf warranted in the licentious exerciſe of this prerogative within the limits of his own houſe. If the ſame monarch forbids a freedom of ſpeech with reſpect to his perſon and adminiſtration; his petty imitator, jealous of the leaſt infringement on the authority of a parent or an husband, watches every unguarded expreſſion, that may drop from his children, and excludes his wives from all converſation, leſt they ſhould be guilty of treachery, or enamoured of a ſtranger. Surrounded thus by eunuchs and mutes, denied every advantage, that contributes to raiſe or refine the underſtanding, let us ſuppoſe ſome diſtinguiſhed beauty (for with the Perſians beauty alone is regarded in the women) to be taken into the boſom and confidence of a mighty prince. Let us ſuppoſe her to interfere in ſtate-affairs, though ſhe be ignorant of mankind, and the true intereſt of the kingdom. The natural effect of it muſt be, that the caprice of the miſtreſs added to the caprice of the prince, while each is to be gratified without controul, will redouble the miſeries of a country. Such events have often been ſeen in arbitrary conſtitutions of government. What makes the thing ſo high an abſurdity in Perſia, is not only the confined and uninforming education of the women, but it's contradiction to the ſenſe of our anceſtors, who thought the females not qualified for buſineſs, and by the laws they ſettled, have rendered the male-heirs alone capable of ſucceeding to the throne. In this the empire of CYRUS has varied from the

the Aſſyrian empire, whoſe hiſtory is chiefly remarkable for the character of queen SEMIRAMIS." Methinks, returned ASPASIA, the Perſian ladies form a very good contraſt to thoſe of * Ægypt, who, as we are told, drive bargains, go to market and manage the plough, while the men ſit at home with the diſtaff and ſpindle, performing the more ſedentary offices, which are eſteemed here the natural province of the houſewife. We have none in Greece that reſemble them. "No, ſaid I, unleſs you will match them with the military ladies of Sparta, who are equally the reverſe of the Perſian. Inured to the ſame exerciſes, the ſame hardſhips, and the ſame diſcipline with the men, they differ not in their manners. It was the intention of their great lawgiver to ſubdue the paſſions, by methods oppoſite to what are uſed in Perſia. And as in this laſt country, they endeavour to reſtrain the women by debarring them from the ſight of the human ſpecies, and by the confinement of the body; in the former, a perpetual familiarity with the men blunts the edge of irregular appetites, while the check, that is laid on ſenſuality, I mean, that ſenſe of honor, which is inſtilled early, has a reference to the mind only. The worſt of it is, that the rough genius of the commonwealth gives an unnatural boldneſs and fierceneſs to the ſex, which the introduction of foreign commerce into the ſtate would ſoon poliſh. And, in this reſpect, I take it, ASPASIA, Athens has a manifeſt ſuperiority. Free and independent as Sparta, able to defend it's liberties in the field againſt the moſt numerous or warlike peo-

* Vide Herod. L. II.

ple,

ple, it carefully attends to the encouragement of commerce, and brings home the wealth of the moſt diſtant climates to it's own convenience and emolument. At the ſame time ſuch are it's laws, and ſuch are it's citizens, that as the one appear to be very wiſely calculated to prevent the growth of that enervating luxury, which is uſually the companion of trade; ſo the other, perſuaded of the needfulneſs of ſimplicity to ſupport the dignity of Athens, concur with chearfulneſs in receiving and obeying them. Under reſtrictions of this nature, accurately obſerved, what happineſs is not derived by commerce on every individual, as well as on the republic? Every man has ſome employment, to which he is not only induced by inclination, but by the ſeverity of the law. For here, if I miſtake not, idleneſs is puniſhed with death. On theſe accounts the fretful jealouſies, which diſturb and imbitter private life in the leſs active countries, are entirely unknown to the Athenians. The women are bred up in thoſe arts, which become them; are indulged on ſolemn feſtivals in frequenting the theatre; and are admitted into a great ſhare of the domeſtic management. By ſuch means, they gain an agreeable ſoftneſs in their behaviour without a falſe delicacy, and a liberal way of thinking, which the men hardlyarrive at in arbitrary governments."

"But, interpoſed ASPASIA ſmiling, notwithſtanding the advantageous circumſtances of the Grecian ladies, I believe you are as zealous againſt permitting them to deal in politics, as you were a little while ſince, againſt conceding that privilege to the favourites of Perſian monarchs." "Such a privilege, replied I, is to be granted

granted only to extraordinary genius's; and when limited to theſe, you will admit, ASPASIA, there is no danger of it's being indulged, either frequently, or improperly. However, your obſervation is certainly very pertinent, that there is not the ſame abſurdity in making a woman of parts, thus educated, the firſt miniſter in the ſtate, as in raiſing the ignorant beauties of Perſia to an high degree of confidence." "You know the light, returned ſhe, in which I was formerly placed, when the ambition of my youth prompted me to aim at being admired and beloved by PERICLES. I was then traduced as a deſigning politic intriguer; and the fine underſtanding of that great man was ſtrangely depreciated, in being repreſented as a dupe to the artifice of a woman. But I had a mind to know your ſentiments, and agree with them. You had ſomething elſe to ſay; I am afraid I have interrupted you. "I can have nothing to ſay, anſwered I, when you have any thing to offer." "You have loſt ſight of Epheſus, ſaid ſhe." "'Tis true, ſaid I, and I was going to ſhew from the very conſtitution of Epheſus (which has one of the nobleſt harbours in the world, and therefore is a place of the moſt extenſive trade,) that a greater freedom of courſe muſt be indulged there to luxury and the manners of the women, than either in Perſia or in Athens. For though that place was among the immediate dependencies of an arbitrary government, and (notwithſtanding the article in CIMON's peace) is ſtill under the awe of it, it has always been allowed in ſeveral immunities, and comparatively with the reſt of the empire in a relaxation of abſolute authority, with a view

to

to encourage commerce, which can never flouriſh under the rigour of it. This has brought the inhabitants to converſe more openly, and both ſexes meet together at the public fairs and at ſumptuous entertainments. Thus the education of the women becomes free and uncontrouled, which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe of Perſia. Should you then ask, why they differ from the Athenian women? That too may be ſolved without difficulty. For though in Athens it may be neceſſary for the preſervation of it's liberties, to enact laws reſtraining prodigality and wantonneſs; yet thoſe laws are not wiſhed for in Epheſus, where they would be unwilling even to eſtabliſh freedom at the expence of their pleaſures; ſo that while the Epheſians ſhare all the advantages of commerce, they are ſubject to the evils of unbounded luxury. Agreeably to this, the women affect a gaiety in their dreſs, a ſpirit in the very air of their countenance, and a libertine deportment unpractiſed by any other people. They love to be followed by the men, and expect an homage, that beſpeaks adoration, not eſteem. The conſequence of it is, that they, who ſet a value upon their perſons, (and indeed there are few, who do not) have an averſion to an husband; and the city owes it's populouſneſs, not ſo much to the intermarriages of it's inhabitants, as to the concourſe of ſtrangers. I knew a lady of this turn of mind, who refuſed an Epheſian of uncommon parts and ſenſe, from a ridiculous caprice. Such an one amongſt you, ASPASIA, would have been deſervedly infamous. For in Athens matrimony is held honourable and highly encouraged. Hence an Athenian

matron is beloved and reſpected, when old. As ſhe has been diligent in the education of her family, ſhe looks back on her paſt life with pleaſure, and has a proſpect in her children, which contributes to prolong her happineſs. An Epheſian beauty, when the charms of her perſon wear off, and with them ſhe lays aſide the luxury of dreſs, incapable of reſorting for conſolation to the ſolid pleaſures of domeſtic life, loſes her former chearfulneſs, and ſpends the reſt of her days in the low arts of detracting from the young and handſom." "In truth, CLEANDER, returned ASPASIA, the Athenian lady is very much obliged to you for the preference you have given her over all others. You ſeem to think, ſhe has every good quality of the Spartan, Epheſian, and Perſian, without any of their foibles." "Moſt evidently, ſaid I, for ſhe has the manly ſenſe of the Spartan, without her rough ſeverity; the ſprightly eaſe of the Epheſian, without her laſciviouſneſs; and the modeſt reſerve of the Perſian, without her ſlaviſh recluſeneſs."

I flatter myſelf, deareſt HIPPIAS, thou wilt be reconciled to the virgins of Attica on the reading of this letter; and believe them for the future to be the choiceſt bleſſings of OROMASDES, not the baneful gifts of ARIMANIUS. C.

LETTER

LETTER CXXXVII.

AMORGES to CLEANDER. From Pedaſa.

THE intelligence you ſent me of ZOPYRUS's deſigns againſt CAUNUS, was ſo long delayed by contrary winds and other accidents, before it reached my hands, that I had not time to take all the neceſſary precautions for the ſecurity of my government. The province was unfurniſhed of the beſt part of the troops, which are uſually quartered in it, they having been ordered away to the general rendezvous at Sardis; and the citizens of CAUNUS obſtinately inſiſting upon their privilege of receiving no Perſian garriſon, I found myſelf without a force ſufficient to compel them to it, and could only exhort them by letters to preſerve their allegiance to the king, and write to the ſatraps of the neighbouring provinces for aſſiſtance. In the mean time, ZOPYRUS with his ſhips came before the town, and ſent in a meſſage to the inhabitants, with offers of the moſt advantageous conditions, if they would ſurrender themſelves into his hands. The Caunians after conſultation returned for anſwer; that though they ſhould be willing to deliver up their city to one of his noble birth and excellent qualities, they could by no means give admittance to his followers. ZOPYRUS little expecting this reply, landed his men, and began the aſſault in form. The inhabitants made a very gallant defence; and ZOPYRUS himſelf was killed by AL-

CIDAS, a native of the place, in attempting to ſcale the walls. Upon which his troops retired in diſorder to their ſhips, and within a few hours ſailed away. The day after this action, I arrived myſelf with a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, whom I had found means to draw together. The Caunians opened their gates to me without reſiſtance. I reprimanded them for their former refuſal to admit a garriſon; telling them, I expected them to deliver up to me thoſe, who had adviſed that meaſure, as well as thoſe, who correſponded with the enemy, under pain of forfeiting their privileges. The terror of arms, CLEANDER, is a moſt excellent monitor. My demands were complied with, and I returned to this place with my priſoners, whoſe examinations I have ſent up to court, and expect the king's further pleaſure concerning them. THERON, the Rhodian, CRATIPPUS's brother, (who for ſome years has been ſettled here) contributed not a little, by his perſuaſions and example, towards the brave reſiſtance made to theſe piratical adventurers, and was very inſtrumental in helping to diſcover ſome, who had been concerned in practices with them.

I am told, my enemies at court have inſinuated, that I was indirectly concerned in this attempt, and had given ZOPYRUS ſecret aſſurances of joining him, in caſe he met with ſucceſs. May I ſhare the fate of the curſed * ARIMANIUS, when the ſeven thouſand years

* The Perſians believed, that the lower world ſhould be in ſubjection to ARIMANIUS for ſeven thouſand years, after which order ſhould be reſtored, and OROMASDES reign without oppoſition. Vide Hyde de Religione veterum Perſarum.

have

have finiſhed their courſe, if the nature of the facts, as well as my own conſcience, does not acquit me. Can it be alledged with any colour of reaſon, that I ought to have hazarded the king's authority, or perhaps driven the Caunians into an open revolt, by attempting to force a gariſon upon them, before the reinforcements, which I expected, arrived? Or will it be ſaid, that I omitted one ſtep, which the weakneſs of the province ſuffered me to take, that was proper to ſecure it's tranquillity?

I deſire nothing but juſtice in this affair: I am convinced, I ſhall meet with it before the tribunal of ARTAXERXES; and to that I willingly ſubmit my life, my reputation, and my fortunes. Adieu. P.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

WHEN my zeal for the purity and prevalence of the Magian ſcheme of religion is alarmed, I am almoſt tranſported into an unbecoming violence. But * when I reflect on thee and thy friendſhip, the ſofter paſſions take place, which draw me back to ſentiments of moderation and peace. Doſt thou ask, what incident has raiſed my zeal? Know, CLEANDER, that

* SMERDIS ſeems to entertain the good-natured opinion of ANTONINUS, "that we ought to think over the virtues and excellencies of our ſeveral acquaintance, when we have a mind to indulge ourſelves, and be chearful." Anton. Medit. L. VI. p. 56. Edit. Lond. 1697. Note by the Tranſlator.

in the ſpacious grove adjoining to the palace of ARSACES in the foreſt of Nyſa, ſome concealed Sabians have erected a marble altar; and, under the protection of that falſe ſatrap, have in the night time performed their horrid incantations. Not long ſince they were diſcovered by ſome true worſhippers in the celebration of a ceremony peculiar to them, that of boiling the kid in the mother's milk; by which they impiouſly and impertinently invite the ſuperior intelligences of the ſtars to reſide in their images. Thou knoweſt the ſummary courſe of our proceedings: they were ſeized, convicted before the archimage, and delivered over to the curſes of AHRIMAN, and the torments of the avenging angels.

Believe me, the ſtate of Median piety affects me with indignation and ſorrow! This ſect has of late gained ground upon us in ſeveral parts of the eaſt; and though the abilities of our prophet once defeated the induſtry of it, inſomuch that the holy flame glowed in all minds, as well as burnt on the ſhrines of all Perſia; yet we have been ſince returning to the ſenſeleſs rites he taught us to diſdain. I obſerve at the ſame time, with the higheſt ſatisfaction, the attachment of our monarch to the doctrines of the Zenda; (and the only hopes of the magi are centered there:) but neither the encouragement he has vouchſafed to the Jews, whoſe practices are directly oppoſite to Sabianiſm, and who worſhip in their temples by continual fire; nor the arms he gives us to deſtroy the wicked; neither the lenity, nor ſeverity of the government, can ſecure us from the wiles of falſhood; neither arguments nor power. Thou wilt here be apt to object, perverted by

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the reaſonings of thy Grecian friends, "Would it not be better to allow an intercommunity of religions? Such an exertion of the legal authority, as that, which you have mentioned, can only lop the branches; but who will tear up the root? You may cut off the excreſcences; but who can cleanſe the ill humours, that produce them? You may cloſe the wound for a ſeaſon; but will it not open with the firſt diſorder?" All this is true, and it might perhaps be worthy the wiſdom of the good being, to ſend a genius like ZOROASTER upon earth, in every generation of men, to preſerve the knowledge and worſhip of him in it's full purity. In the mean time we his followers muſt uſe force, while we are without inſpiration; we muſt not accept the precarious ſubmiſſion of the underſtanding, while the reaſon is weak, the heart depraved; we muſt prevent this danger by the means we have, and not wait for thoſe we have not. "Seeſt thou, ſays the prophet in his ſacred volume, a ſhip putting out to ſea in a ſtorm; and wouldeſt thou not conſtrain the owner of it, to keep in harbour, leſt it daſh againſt the rocks, and be loſt? Seeſt thou a man travelling into a far country, and, inſtead of preferring the ſafe and beaten path, taking his way through barren heaths, burning ſands, expoſed to the fury of wild beaſts, and the ſtings of ſcorpions; wouldeſt thou not force him to be ruled by thee?" Again, "Seeſt thou another preparing to throw himſelf from a ſharp point on one of the mountains of Caucaſus; and wouldeſt thou not lay thine hands on the wretch, leſt he bring miſchief on himſelf? Even ſo let it be to every ſinner, who departeth from the truth to do evil."

This being the opinion of the book, I own, many are the doubts, which have ariſen in my mind concerning thy reſidence among the idolaters of the weſt. If I have ſometimes been afraid, leſt the profane diſputations of ſophiſts ſully thy unſpotted faith, I have recollected, that the ſame prophet, who commands us to avoid every pollution of the elements, which are the ſeeds of all things, commands us to avoid every pollution of the ſoul, which contains the ſeeds of reaſon, immortality, and happineſs. Then have I wiſhed thee to fly away from that deteſted country on the wings of the morning, that thou mighteſt no more be liable to ſuſpicion. If at other times I have thought thee too firm to be ſhaken from the genuine principles of ZOROASTER's law, I have recollected, that the ſame prophet, who exhorts us, whatever temptations we combat, to hold faſt to the religion of OROMASDES, and to ſuffer our minds to aſcend from earth to heaven, as the ſun mounts above the level of the waters to the Zenith, whence he emits his warmeſt and moſt enlivening ways; exhorts us likewiſe, for want of power, by reproof and by inſtruction, to perſuade thoſe, who are defiled with error, to forſake it; on the ſame principle, that thou wouldeſt compaſſionately free the priſoner from the captivity, which ſooths him, for it may ſpeedily end in his deſtruction.

I conjure thee, hide not the profeſſion of our law; gird up thy loins with the holy girdle; let me not be told again of thy private expiations, to appeaſe the prophet for what thou ſoftly calleſt the neceſſary omiſſions of duty, but are in truth the ſhameful compliances of fear.

fear. Addreſs thyſelf to the philoſophers and magiſtrates of Athens: let them bow no longer to idol-Gods and idol-paſſions, but adopt the Deity and the morals of ZOROASTER. Think on the example propoſed to thee by that great man, who looking on death with contempt, when ſet againſt the eſtabliſhment of his doctrines in the hearts of others, not only hazarded, but loſt his life, in endeavouring to convert ARGASP, king of the Scythians. Be thou comforted alſo in remembring the ſpeedy vengeance inflicted on that ſtubborn prince by DARIUS. Such may be the fate of Athens from the pious ARTAXERXES, if ſhe refuſe to hear thy miſſion, and treat thee with a Scythian barbarity. But if, as is moſt probable, in a ſtate renowned for letters and for wit, her philoſophers attempt to confute, and her poets to ridicule thee; be aſſured, as the ſacred fire on our altars is ſmothered for a time by the ſhrubs and flowers, that are thrown upon it, yet is nevertheleſs raiſed and ſupported by them; ſo is it with truth, which makes every impediment in it's way the proper matter for itſelf to work upon, and converts the means intended for it's overthrow, into thoſe of it's credit and propagation. C.

LETTER

LETTER CXXXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

ALCIBIADES came yeſterday on a viſit to PHILEMON and myſelf, and we had a private ſympoſium. He had ſcarce entered the apartment, when he laughed, and ſaid, "I have juſt been preſent at the deliberations of an ingenious aſſembly, into which I am lately admitted." I warrant you, interrupted I, ſome party of pleaſure. You have perhaps been contriving ſome conceit or ſcheme to take place at the approaching Orgies. "No, anſwered he; by HERCULES, you were never more miſtaken." Then you have been diſcourſing, returned I, with a knot of ſophiſts or philoſophers. "Why in truth, replied he, it was ſo grave a meeting, that you would have imagined, had you looked at us, it was a company of philoſophers; and yet our conference was ſo void of all meaning, that it might vie with the diſputations of a ſophiſt. To hold you no longer in ſuſpence, a ſet of young citizens, who are fond of attending the debates of the people, and have a mind to make themſelves, not able ſtateſmen, but popular orators, have compoſed a ſociety, where, in imitation of the great objects of SOCRATES's ridicule, they talk extempore on every topic, that is offered them." "I perceive, interpoſed PHILEMON, there is a great ſpirit of eloquence gone forth into the world; and the forum (it is now ſuggeſted) was not deſigned ſo much for the tranſaction of buſineſs, as for a vain oſtentation of the capacity. If MINERVA, the tutelar Goddeſs

Goddeſs of Athens, inſpires not our poſterity with better thoughts, the affairs of the ſenate and aſſembly may degenerate into careleſs amuſements. Theſe trifles lead to ſerious * misfortunes. "Pray, ſaid I, who are the rulers of your club?" Not I, anſwered ALCIBIADES, though a member of it." "I take that for granted, returned I; and it is impoſſible for any one but a ſophiſt, to be either the framer or conductor of it. "You are in the right, replied he: THEON and ISAGORAS, who are of that ſect, both of them ſuperior to us in years, ſeem to be our chief demagogues and managers. The one was a follower of HIPPIAS, and imitates him in

* PHILEMON ſeems to have been of the ſame ſentiments with CICERO, who puts theſe words into the mouth of the elder CATO in the piece *de Senectute*. "*Quod ſi legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas reſpublicas ab adoleſcentibus labefactatas reperietis,*

Cedò, qui veſtram rempublicam tantam amiſiſtis tàm cito? ſic enim percontanti, ut eſt in Nævii Poetæ ludo, reſpondentur et alia, et hæc in primis,

Proveniebant Oratores novi, ſtultuli, adoleſcentuli.

It is remarkable, that ALCIBIADES ſhould have this converſation with PHILEMON, who foreſaw the ruin, that would be brought upon the ſtate by the precipitate advice and meaſures of ſuch citizens as that young Athenian. He engaged his countrymen afterwards in the fatal expedition to Sicily. Should it be aſked, how one of ſo romantic and debauched a turn could maintain any correſpondence with the grave PHILEMON, it may be ſaid, he did like CATILINE, *bonos ſibi ſpecie quâdam virtutis aſſimulatæ tenere*. Note by the Tranſlator.

conciſeneſs, which he looks upon as a proof of genius, (though, you know, it may diſcover either great ſtrength or poverty of parts:) the other was a ſcholar of GORGIAS, and values himſelf on a florid copiouſneſs. The former is of ſo ridiculous an aſpect, that he would make a droll figure in the paintings of PYREICUS; and the latter is a man of ſuch univerſal attainments, that he preſumed to contend in tragedy with EURIPIDES himſelf. They have ſo high a regard for the improvements of their pupils, that they always take contrary ſides, and frequently keep the converſation to themſelves. As ſoon as THEON has uttered two or three ſentences with ſome difficulty and much formality, the forward ISAGORAS lays hold of them, allows him the whole extent of his argument, but perhaps thinks it not to the purpoſe; and after he has proceeded in his uſual ſtrain of declamation, the ſame ſentiments purſued in different words, and warmly argued, furniſh out the exerciſe of the day." "But, ſaid I, though your diſputes are not carried on in the beſt manner, you keep yourſelves in breath, I imagine, by treating ſubjects of importance as a trial of your invention." "Yes, rejoined ALCIBIADES; we have talked over every character in * HOMER from ACHILLES to

* The ſophiſts were fond of extracting topics of declamation from the poets, eſpecially from HOMER, as may be collected from the Dialogues of PLATO. It is ſaid in one of them, that HIPPIAS of Elis had thrown all the precepts neceſſary for inſtituting youth into an oration, and called it "NESTOR's advice to a Son."

THERSITES;

THERSITES; and have ſtarted it as a problem of difficult ſolution, whether NESTOR or ULYSSES was the wiſeſt? A friend of mine, who had been in Ithaca accidentally, (where hardly any body elſe ever was,) valued himſelf much upon it, and told us, "he might perhaps be prejudiced in favour of one, whom he had propoſed as the pattern of his travels; but he could not help thinking, when he traverſed the rocky iſland, which was the royal patrimony of the hero, that the good effects of his government exiſted viſibly in the face of the country till now." He concluded with ſome ſmart reflections or ſtrong things to the diſadvantage of old NESTOR. Such, CLEANDER, are the means, by which many of the Athenians have learnt a vicious fluency of words, and a petulant vivacity. But we begin to be tired of antiquity, and are deſcended to the worſt of all modern productions, the regulations of our own ſociety." "One ſhould apprehend, anſwered I, they muſt be wretched ſubjects of diſcourſe. The flowers of eloquence can never flouriſh or be raiſed on barren ſoils." "True, ſaid he; yet you know there is art required in gloſſing over a ſtatute or old order of the aſſembly; and the fate of a queſtion will now and then depend on a defect in the way of drawing it, or in the form of proceeding to conſider it. We train ourſelves therefore to a qualification ſo material to the intereſts of the republic." "But continued I, this might be an improving exerciſe, if you would reſolve to digeſt in your minds the matter of a curious ſubject, which would admit ſome difference of opinion concerning it, before the day of debate. As to the expreſſions, the leſs they

they are premeditated, methinks the better." "I agree with you, returned ALCIBIADES, and had once the boldneſs to move what you mention. I believe it is almoſt the only time I ever troubled them with my thoughts at all. For I have learnt from SOCRATES, not to talk of any thing, before I have conſidered it; ſo that in this ſociety I generally entertain myſelf with the wiſdom of others, and obſerve a more than Pythagoric ſilence. It was ſaid, in objection to it, that the very end of the meeting would be deſtroyed, which was "to ſpeak without thinking." "A noble inſtitution, cried PHILEMON; theſe men would ill imitate your uncle PERICLES, whoſe excellent talents, as an orator, were formed, not by an idle loquacity, but by long application to philoſophy, joined to great natural quickneſs and comprehenſion of parts. Words are only the inſtruments to convey our thoughts; and you might as well flatter yourſelf to become a painter at once, by taking a pencil into your hand, as a maſter of eloquence, by gaining a readineſs of ſpeech." "You may remember, ſaid ALCIBIADES, that THUCYDIDES, who ſucceeded CIMON in the oppoſite intereſt to PERICLES, founded a ſort of political lecture, and paid ſome ſophiſt very largely for his aſſiduity in teaching that ſcience to the young Athenians. What would you ſay now (ſince you ſeem to think we want good materials for debating) if the two inſtitutions were joined together; and the diſciples of this laſt, after a certain time, delivered to the care of THEON and ISAGORAS, that they might produce in the ſociety, for the encouragement of eloquence, thoſe abilities they had acquired

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in the ſchool of politics?" "Forgive me, replied he, if I cannot be pleaſant on a matter of ſuch laſting conſequence. For I take this faculty of diſcourſing on both ſides of a queſtion, which the ſophiſts are fond of exerting themſelves and communicating to others, not be ſo hurtful to ſcience, as dangerous to virtue. It tempts us to lay aſide ſincerity, and to varniſh over falſhood; it introduces ſomething of the drama into public councils, and familiarizes our youth to the acting a part.

C.

LETTER CXL.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Taoces on the borders of the Perſian gulf.

IN the leiſure of a few months receſs from the court, I want no inducement, CLEANDER, to reſume my correſpondence with thee. From the opinion thou haſt formed of me, thou wilt readily conceive, how great a relief I find in this retirement from the hurry and diſſipation of a public life. Taoces (for that is the name of this place from the neighbouring promontory) was an ancient pleaſure-ſeat of the Achæmenian princes, the anceſtors of CYRUS, but has ſince paſt by grant into the family of PARMYS. The pleaſantneſs of the place is greatly owing to it's maritime ſituation, and to the natural variety of it's woodlands, lawns, and water; though very conſiderable improvements have been made by large plantations in the paradiſes, that encompaſs it. Nor is the beauty of it's proſpects diminiſhed from the contraſt of a more barren and mountainous country, viewed at a diſtance, towards the borders

ders of Carmania. Above Taoces, about two hundred ſtadia upon the river Granis, which at this place falls into the Perſian gulf, ſtands Gabæ, one of the royal palaces, as Paſargada was the other, between which the kings of Perſia in former times reſided; for the champain country about theſe places recommended their ſituation to our ancient monarchs, whoſe pleaſures conſiſted in manly exerciſes, and whoſe chief diverſion was the chace. In thoſe days all the youth of Perſia, educated after the diſcipline of our ancient ſchools, were called upon in their turns to attend their ſovereign to the field; not indeed ſo often againſt the human kind, as in the purſuit of ſavage animals, with which they were frequently expoſed to no leſs hazardous encounters, and by this means properly trained to all the ſtratagems and toils of war. They then purſued the game on foot, and contended in ſpeed with the ſwifteſt animals; for till the times of CYRUS a horſe was little known in Perſia. Paſargada is ſituated upon the river Agradatus, now more commonly called after the name of our immortal CYRUS. The courſe of it is through the vale of Perſis, the middle and moſt fruitful part of the country. CYRUS, even after he had begun the moſt magnificent palace of the eaſt, ſtill retained a particular fondneſs for that place. There paſt the cloſing ſcene of his glorious life; and in the gardens belonging to that ancient ſeat of his anceſtors, he ordered, that his remains ſhould be depoſited. His ſepulchre is plain and ſimple, diſtinguiſhed only by an obelisk, which ſtands in the centre of a thick wood. Within the palace of Paſargada are the courts of juſtice, and the ancient ſchools; the former ſupplied

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by the itinerant judges, who are ſent annually through all the provinces; the latter now under the direction of the Magi. But they, CLEANDER, are more induſtrious to maintain their reputation, and promote the ſpeculative ſtudies of their own order, than to ſee the ſpirit of the ancient diſcipline preſerved in it's full vigor. Paſargada is now become one of the moſt conſiderable colleges of their profeſſion; another ſettlement they had in a village near adjacent, which bore the name of Ecbatana, till DARIUS obliged them to remove from thence, and built the town of that name upon the mountains. The court is this ſpring at Perſepolis, from whence the great king is expected to make a progreſs to Paſargada. Except in theſe progreſſes, the concourſe and ſplendor of a Perſian court is ſeldom ſeen there; yet, without that, even in theſe remote corners of Perſia frequent opportunities offer of mixing in a very polite and various ſociety. The voyages of the Phœnicians have of late ages, thou knoweſt, opened a commerce of literature between the moſt diſtant climates of the eaſt and weſt; which has occaſioned a great reſort of ſtrangers, eſpecially of the Grecian ſophiſts, into theſe parts; for they, whoſe reſearches after knowledge carry them even to the Indian Brachmans, will not fail to viſit the ſchools of the Magi. The ſituation of my Perſian villa puts me ſometimes in the way of theſe learned gueſts; they are generally introduced to me by the courteous Mage TEASPES, who obliges PARMYS and me with his company in this agreeable retirement. The adjacent promontory of Taoces affords a commodious harbour to the Tyrian merchants.

Among them I often meet with men of a large mind, and improved underſtanding; ſuch as I have heard thy brother HIPPIAS deſcribed to be by the great men, who have ſeen him at the court of Ecbatana.

I have long entertained an opinion, that there was a nearer conſanguinity between the diſtant nations of the earth, than they themſelves are generally apprized of. My happening, upon ſome occaſion, to ſuggeſt this hint in a mixt company of Greeks and Aſiatics, who were met not long ſince at Taoces, brought on a converſation, that has a good deal confirmed me in theſe ſentiments. PYTHON, the Athenian agent, who being in theſe parts upon his mercantile affairs, chanced to be one of the company, ſaid with ſome earneſtneſs, that though, in the relation he ſtood in to a certain ſtate, he ſhould be unwilling to give up a point ſo intereſting to many of the Greeks, as that of their being the Αυτόχθονες of their native country; yet he ſhould with pleaſure attend to any diſcoveries of a natural alliance between them and the ſubjects of the great king. "I fear, ſaid TEASPES, you muſt firſt relinquiſh thoſe boaſted pretenſions of your Grecian friends, before any ſuch relation between them and theſe eaſtern nations can be made out? IROMUS, a Phœnician merchant, who ſat by, was diſpoſed to treat the ſubject with raillery, and alledged, that conſidering the barbarous ſtate of ancient Greece, before CADMUS introduced humanity among it's early inhabitants, he ſaw nothing extravagant in the pretenſions of thoſe Greeks, who make their firſt anceſtors the ſpontaneous product of the earth."

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"It muſt be owned, replied PYTHON, that there is a great mixture of fable in the early periods of the Grecian hiſtory. But will not the ſame objection lie to the hiſtory of all other nations, if you attempt to trace them up to their firſt original? Thus, if INACHUS be ſtiled the offspring of OCEANUS and TETHYS, this carries his antiquity to that height, as to leave it uncertain, who were his progenitors. And is not SEMIRAMIS, in like manner, reported to be the daughter of the Syrian Goddeſs?" "I have had, ſaid TEASPES, ſeveral opportunities of converſing intimately with the prieſts of Byblos, who, you will allow, deſerve to be conſulted in points of the earlieſt antiquity; and I can with confidence affirm, that of the antiquities of the Greeks, till the æra of the Olympiads, there is very little certainty to be collected from any traditions or monuments, that have been preſerved by their own hiſtorians. I muſt ſo far, however, diſſent from IROMUS, as to believe, that there were diſtinct communities and forms of government eſtabliſhed by the Pelaſgi, before the coming of CADMUS into Greece. Phœnicia had ſent colonies thither long before that, which he ſettled at Thebes in Bœotia. The very name of INACHUS, who is the reputed founder of the Argive kingdom, betrays his Phœnician original; and PHORONEUS bears an affinity to an Ægyptian name. It was under his government, that the ſcattered families of the Pelaſgi were brought to unite themſelves in a regular ſociety with the new tranſplanted colonies, who followed PHORONEUS into that country ſoon after the expulſion of the Phœnicians out of Ægypt." "You muſt allow

then, interpoſed PYTHON, that the Pelaſgi themſelves were more ancient in Greece, than the colonies you ſpeak of." "Some indeed, replied TEASPES, muſt have got ſooner there than the reſt; and I uſe the word, Pelaſgi, becauſe upon the authority of the Greeks themſelves, I find no name more ancient for the firſt inhabitants of that country. But you cannot be ignorant, I ſuppoſe, that the name of Pelaſgi could only belong to a people, who had paſſed the ſea, and ſufficiently deſtroys the high pretenſions of your countrymen, of being coeval almoſt with the territory itſelf. And here I cannot help repeating your own fabulous account of INACHUS, under which ſeems to be diſguiſed ſome hiſtorical tradition, when 'tis ſaid, that he was the offſpring of OCEANUS and TETHYS; which, allowing that he came from a country beyond the ſeas, is eaſily explained, but is otherwiſe a ſenſeleſs legend. I muſt beg leave, ſaid I here interpoſing, to offer ſomething in ſupport of the great antiquity of the Athenians. It is a tradition among the Ægyptian prieſts, that they were originally a Sethroite colony; and that OSIRIS left TRIPTOLEMUS with them, in their new territory, to teach them the art of tillage. The Phœnician ſacred records relate, how CHRONUS travelled about the world with his daughter ATHENA, and gave her the coaſt of Attica; ſo that both theſe authorities fix the firſt ſettlement in Attica, as high as the times of OSIRIS. And there is reaſon to believe, from the teſtimony of thoſe two nations, which contend for the earlieſt antiquity, that theſe eaſtern countries, which have ſucceſſively been the ſeats of empire, were overſpread, about the ſame time,

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from one common ſtock. Beyond the times of OSIRIS we find nothing in the Ægyptian account, but mythology. I am not ignorant, there are Phœnician traditions pretended to be derived from TAAUTUS, which carry up the hiſtory of the human race for ten generations higher than CHRONUS. But you, TEASPES, I know conſider, that ancient epoch of OSIRIS, about which ends with the Ægyptians the reign of their demi-gods, as the time, when the earth began to be planted anew after the univerſal deluge." "I do, replied TEASPES; and I make no doubt, but that SISUTHRUS and his family, who ſo miraculouſly, as it is related in the books of the Chaldæan ſages, eſcaped the univerſal deluge, might paſs among poſterity for a remnant of the race of the demi-gods, who had exiſted in another ſtate of things. And if we conſider, how impoſſible it was for any monuments to have been preſerved of the antediluvian ages, and what the ſtate of moſt nations, after their firſt planting, muſt have been; we ſhall neceſſarily be brought to fix here the earlieſt æra of the hiſtorical times. And the Greeks cannot complain, though we allow not of their ſpringing from the earth itſelf, that we have made their origin too recent."

"I thank you both, ſaid PYTHON, for this polite and rational enquiry into a ſubject, which appears, in the light you have conſidered it, to be of the greateſt moment for eſtabliſhing an univerſal benevolence among the human ſpecies. You could elſe, I am ready to believe, have more eaſily indulged me in my Grecian prejudices. But to ſpeak the truth, I am much leſs concerned for what becomes of the boaſted

original of my Athenian friends, than I am for improving, as far as may be, thoſe principles of humanity, which are ſo forcibly inculcated from the conſideration of the whole race, as being deſcended of one common ſtock. But my curioſity is much excited, to know the opinion of your enlightened ſages, with regard to the origin of man, and when he firſt exiſted upon the earth. The ſubject of our preſent converſation naturally leads to this further enquiry." "This queſtion, ſaid TEASPES, is cloſely connected with our Magian doctrines of the Coſmogony. However, I ſhall not be unwilling to gratify your curioſity, ſince an explanation, upon theſe ſubjects, will do honor to the religion of ZOROASTER, and clear up our philoſophical opinions from thoſe groſs miſtakes, which ſome of your countrymen have entertained concerning them. L.

LETTER CXLI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

THE fortune of the war, which, ſince my laſt diſpatches, inclines to the ſide of Athens, has given a ſudden turn to the affairs of this country, which, if ſome unforeſeen event does not ariſe, may produce conſequences, not leſs advantageous to the Grecian ſtates, than detrimental to Perſia. Thou muſt have judged, from all the accounts of Pylus, that it was reduced to the laſt extremity; and indeed ſo little expectation of preſerving it remained here, that nothing could be more ſurprizing, as well as agreeable, than the news we received within theſe few days, that the blockade was raiſed

raiſed by ſea, and a truce concluded with the Lacedæmonian generals. Thoſe, who have been long converſant in political buſineſs, muſt have frequently obſerved, that when their hopes ſeem beſt founded, and their thoughts are employed in purſuing a ſeries of imaginary triumphs, one unlucky incident reduces them to deſpair, and ſoon after a ſtroke of good fortune, as unlooked for as the bad, reſtores ſpirit and reſolution to their counſels.

Without making a particular application of this remark to the Athenian republic in the preſent criſis, I will haſten to explain the facts, which gave riſe to it. Not long after the deſperate aſſault maintained by DEMOSTHENES, (of which my laſt letters made mention) the Athenian admiral from Zacynthus came up with forty ſail, and offered battle to the Lacedæmonian fleet, which, inſtead of accepting the challenge, kept itſelf ranged in a line cloſe to the ſhore within the harbour. Upon this NICIAS called a council of war, where it was determined, by the unanimous opinion of the captains, to force their way into the port, the entrance of which, either through neglect, or want of skill in the engineers, was not blocked up in the manner at firſt propoſed. The project was as gallantly executed, as it had been wiſely concerted: five of the enemies ſhips were taken; ſeveral of them run a-ground and were much ſhattered; and none would have eſcaped being entirely demoliſhed, if the ſoldiers from the Lacedæmonian camp, on the ſhore, had not entered the ſea with their arms, and recovered ſome of their veſſels, at the ſword's point, out of the hands of the Athenians.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs, ſupplies of men and proviſion were immediately thrown into Pylus, the coaſt cleared of the Peloponneſian gallies, and four hundred and twenty natives of Lacedæmon ſhut up in the iſland Sphacteria, and deprived of all poſſibility of relief, whilſt the Athenians continued maſters at ſea. The news of this action no ſooner reached Sparta, than the magiſtrates, in the deepeſt concern for the danger, to which ſo many of their braveſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens were expoſed, repaired in perſon to the Peloponneſian camp; and finding it impracticable, from the diſpoſition made by the Athenian commanders, to give any aſſiſtance to their diſtreſſed countrymen in the iſland, propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms to NICIAS and DEMOSTHENES. They agreed to it on the following conditions: 1ſt, that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent from Sparta to Athens, with full powers to conclude a definitive treaty. 2dly, That the Lacedæmonians ſhould deliver up all their ſhips of war, at that time lying on the coaſts of Laconia, to Athenian commiſſioners, who ſhould be inſtructed to reſtore them at the expiration of the truce, which was to laſt till the return of the embaſſadors. 3dly, That the Athenians ſhould give leave for a daily ſtated portion of bread, fleſh, and wine, to be conveyed into the iſland for the uſe of the garriſon there. 4thly, That if any one of theſe articles was broke, the whole ſhould be void. Thou mayeſt imagine, noble ſcribe, with what joy conditions ſo honourable to this ſtate were ratified by the people. NICIAS's conduct is much applauded; and the general opinion of him ſtrengthned, that tho' he is ſlow in reſolving, yet, when once engaged in

in action, he wants neither addreſs nor vigor in executing. The Lacedæmonians have nominated three of their principal citizens for embaſſadors, who are ſhortly expected to arrive here. This full tide of fortune flowing in at once upon the Athenians has greatly exalted their ſpirits; and from that very circumſtance, I ſhould conjecture, they would not make a right uſe of it. They have this day ſent an expreſs to PYTHON, with an anſwer to the points complained of by our court. As to the depredations on our merchants, they aſſert the right, which all nations have, in time of war, to prevent ſupplies being carried to their enemies; and endeavour to ſhew, that the far greater number of veſſels on the liſt delivered in to their miniſter are included under that head. For the reſt, they offer ſatisfaction in general terms, when a more particular enquiry has been made into the loſſes. As to the receiving ZOPYRUS, they alledge, that they could not have ſecured his perſon, without violating all the laws of hoſpitality in uſe among the Grecians, and making a moſt ungrateful return to the kindneſs and regard, which his mother had always ſhewn to the republic of Athens. That however, he had communicated none of his projects to the ſtate, had received no encouragement from them, and was alone anſwerable for the conſequences of his miſconduct. Theſe inſtructions conclude, by repreſenting the freſh grounds of alarm, which they have taken at the king's deſigns againſt the Greek colonies, by the encampment of the army near Sardis, and the diſcovery of ſeveral Perſian agents in Miletus and Smyrna, who have confeſſed, upon examination, that they were employed to bring

bring over the citizens to ſubmit, without oppoſition, to the government of ARTAXERXES.

Theſe paper-weapons, potent lord, give me no uneaſineſs, as they can produce no obſtruction to the king's meaſures. But the proſpect of a general peace amongſt the Grecian ſtates fills me with apprehenſions, which I wiſh, for the ſake of Perſia, may be entirely chimerical. Will they not, in this caſe, unite to diſconcert the views, which our maſter may have formed upon the maritime cities of Aſia minor and the iſles of the Egean ſea? Will they not lay hold of the ſlighteſt pretence to tranſport an army to the oppoſite continent, and ſpread deſolation over the neighbouring provinces? And to what hazards may not our commerce and marine, which have within theſe few years begun to recover themſelves, be expoſed from the united force of a nation, inured by education and experience to continual toils and warfare?

A ſtrong party in this republic, compoſed of the men of ſubſtance, the elder citizens, and the husbandmen, declare ſtrongly for peace. They cry out, that the preſent opportunity ſhould not be loſt, of delivering Athens, as well as the reſt of Greece, from the calamities, under which they have long laboured, and of eſtabliſhing their general happineſs and ſecurity on laſting foundations. NICIAS is the principal labourer in this good work, a man of a piety, inclining to ſuperſtition, and a gravity ſomething formal. He has long been the champion of the ariſtocratical faction againſt CLEON and the popular demagogues, and for that reaſon ſtood the mark of their calumnies and ridicule; but he is ſo univerſally acknowledged to be a diſintereſted lover of his

his country, and a prudent conducter of buſineſs, that he poſſeſſes no ſmall ſhare in the eſteem of the people. Next to him, both for credit and capacity, I may well reckon my friend PHILEMON, whom I have often mentioned in the courſe of theſe diſpatches, and I can add nothing farther now concerning him, than that he wiſhes moſt ardently to cloſe his eyes with the ſatisfaction of having contributed towards uniting the Greeks. I do not in the leaſt doubt, that CLEON and his faction will throw all the obſtacles poſſible in the way of theſe negotiations. But the queſtion is, whether the true intereſt of this republic, ſupported, as it is, by the friends of peace, will not prevail in the ſtruggle; nor can any thing prevent it, unleſs the Athenians, flushed with ſucceſs, inſiſt upon terms, which the Lacedæmonians cannot agree to, conſiſtently with their own honor and that of their allies.

If I may have the permiſſion to open myſelf freely to thee, I ſhould think nothing would tend more to advance the king's affairs in theſe parts, than to keep embaſſadors reſident with the principal commonwealths. Thoſe, who act by public authority, can take their meaſures on the ſpot with boldneſs, can lay hold of every favourable opportunity to ſet on foot an uſeful negotiation, and are not aſhamed or afraid to raiſe up friends to their ſovereign, and act in concert with them: whilſt an unauthorized agent, like myſelf, is unable to take one ſtep, without innumerable precautions, and reſerves; can barely ſuggeſt fit occaſions to his court, which paſs by unprofitably, before they can be turned to account; and, were he obſerved to form parties

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in the ſtate, or declare himſelf for one prince more than another, ſuſpicions would be raiſed, his own ſafety endangered, and his life, perhaps, ſacrificed to the malice of his enemies and the ſeverity of the laws. Imagine not, potent lord, that I would decline any difficulties or hazards in the diſcharge of my duty here. Whatever inſtructions I may receive in this critical juncture (which I expect with impatience) ſhall be performed with the utmoſt exactneſs. I hope, you will have made ſome progreſs in the conferences with the Lacedæmonian embaſſadors, before the news of theſe changes can reach them.

I ſhall not lengthen out this diſpatch, by entering into any detail of the affairs in other places, to which the Athenians themſelves, at this time, give but little attention. They are not much concerned at the loſs of Eione in Thrace, which was taken by SIMONIDES, their general, at the beginning of the ſpring; nor with the revolt of Meſſana in Sicily from their alliance, though a town of importance. There have been two naval engagements between the Syracuſian and Athenian ſquadrons in the ſtreights of Sicily, of no great conſequence to either ſide, unleſs that the latter are retired to Rhegium, and expect orders to return home, and leave the inhabitants of Sicily to decide their controverſies amongſt themſelves. I refer the event of ZOPYRUS's attempt on CAUNUS to the relations of the governor of Caria, being perſuaded it is a ſubject equally diſagreeable to us both. The giddy youth, intoxicated with pride, paid no regard to my friendly admonitions, and has thrown away his life and reputation in the chi-

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merical projects of raſh adventurers. He had certainly parts to have deſerved better of his ſovereign. May he be the laſt inſtance of diſloyalty ARTAXERXES may experience during the courſe of a reign, for the concluſion of which, I ſincerely wiſh the youngeſt man in the empire may not live to ſee his houſhold fire extinguiſhed. Adieu. P.

LETTER CXLII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

TEASPES, who had ſo civilly complied with my requeſt, continued his diſcourſe in the following manner. "In the theory I am going to advance, you muſt not think it ſtrange, if I as much diſſent from the Ægyptians and Phœnicians, as I have hitherto held with them in their hiſtorical accounts, againſt the uncertain and fabulous traditions of the Greeks. I can no more underſtand, how a wind incloſed in the cavities of unſhapen matter could be the active principle to work out of it an organized body, than I can believe the original production of men, and other animals, to have been from the ſlime of the Nile, impregnated by the heat of that climate, without recurring to an higher cauſe. The human body, we allow, was formed out of the earth, and blended with the other elements; but we enquire after that intelligent plaſtic power, which could produce ſo excellent a fabric. Without it, we have a great deal to account for, before we come to the production of a being endued with

with life and ſenſe. Let us ſuppoſe then the elements in a ſtate of chaos, or lying together in one undiſtinguiſhed maſs. By what innate powers ſhall they be ſeparated; and what ſhall diſpoſe them in that excellent order and harmony, we ſo juſtly admire in the arrangement of the univerſe? Let us ſuppoſe, if you pleaſe, for mere amuſement, a dark troubled air, hovering over a watery mixture, or a wind cauſing a great ferment in the general mucilage of matter. Then, in the violent agitation, the fiery particles are to find their lightneſs, and mount up to the higher regions; and by that means, out of this *môt*, or troubled mixture, the ſun and ſtars are to ſhine out. The groſſer matter, by reaſon of it's weight, muſt ſink as low as poſſible; and the humid parts being lighter, ſhould conſequently riſe and float above it. What lucky chance then prepared that great chaſm and profundity to contain them? And when the waters were taught to know their bound, what fixed the radiant MITHRAS at ſuch an equal diſtance, as to dry, but not burn up, by his parching heat, the drained earth? What, in the mean while, ſupported the whole fabric? Or, when the ſeparation of the elements firſt began, what aſſigned them height or depth in the boundleſs circumſcribing ſpace? And what gave the terraqueous globe, when formed, it's perpetual rolling motion; by which every part by turns is made to partake of the genial influence from that luminary? How infinitely perplexed and embarraſſed are our notions, when we would eſtabliſh effects without a cauſe, and ſuppoſe a maſter-piece of deſign and contrivance not to have been produced by an intelligent author?

But let us proceed in examining this hopeful formation of the mundane ſyſtem. We are to ſuppoſe things endued with vegetative and animal life, and at laſt intelligent animals produced from principles, without either ſenſe or intelligence. How do thoſe skilful Coſmogoniſts acquit themſelves of this arduous task? Why, they tell you of violent thunders and lightnings, at the ſtroke of which the inanimate organized forms were awakened into life, and rouſed and frightened with the ſound began to ſtir and look about them. If you enquire further, how theſe chance-productions came to be ready formed and organized, I will, with ORSAMES's leave, make free with the recondite wiſdom of his Ægyptian friends." "I thought, ſaid I, TEASPES, you had entertained a better opinion of me, than to believe me a convert to any of their doctrines; much leſs to that, which, without the mention of a divine artiſt, attempts to account for the origin of his creatures." "Pardon me, replied TEASPES, I would by no means inſinuate, that you deſerve this imputation; the moſt, that can be ſaid, is, that you differ from us a little as to the ſolemnity of the ſix ſeaſons, which by ZOROASTER we are commanded to keep holy, in commemoration of the creation. For this, I know, you conſider as an exoteric repreſentation of it, accommodated to the apprehenſion of the vulgar. But I am ſatisfied you entirely agree with us in the eſſentials of our belief, although you may think it was as eaſy, for the power of OROMASDES, to have raiſed this great theatre of the univerſe in an inſtant, as by the ſlower progreſs of many months. The Ægyptians, I was going then to ſay, maintain, that

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as the muddy earth became incruſted by the heat of the ſun, the moiſture underneath fermenting bubbled up, in many places, and appeared as ſo many puſtules, wrapt up in thin and ſlender coats and skins; and this laſted, till the fœtuſes arrived at perfect age, when their ſhelly priſons growing dry and breaking, made way for their delivery. This might be well reckoned among thoſe abſurd conceits, which are more wiſely contemned than confuted. But they appeal, in this caſe, from the arbitration of reaſon, to example and matter of fact, and inſtance in the production of mice and other vermin, at this day, from the ſlime caſt upon the land by the overflowing of the Nile. Of theſe, they pretend, ſome are perfect, others half-formed, cleaving to the ſoil, whence they are produced; which you, ORSAMES, have often obſerved to be a very ridiculous miſtake, and an impoſition too groſs to paſs upon people, who have their eyes open. They conclude from hence, that in the beginning of things, when the earth was perfectly fertile and ſucculent, various living creatures might proceed from it in like manner. But granting, that certain ſpecies of animals or inſects ſwarm moſt in Ægypt at that ſeaſon; doesit from thence follow, that moiſture generates animals from heat, without any other ſeminal principle? If it be capable of producing theſe, why ſhould it not, by the ſame influence, at the ſame time, produce all the ſeveral kinds, that are exiſtent? But this not happening, it is ſufficiently evident, that there is ſomething more than the action of heat upon putrified moiſture neceſſary to produce them. I ſee no reaſon, if the ſoil be as fruitful now, as it was in the beginning, why it ſhould not pro-

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duce men and the nobler kinds of beaſts in our days, if ever it did ſo. But if there hath been a gradual diminution of the generative faculty of the earth, that it hath dwindled from nobler animals to puny mice and inſects; why is there not the like decay in the production of vegetables? We ought by this time to have loſt the whole ſpecies of oaks and cedars, and the other tall and lofty ſons of the foreſt; and have had nothing left in their room, but dwarfiſh ſhrubs, and creeping moſs, and deſpicable muſhrooms. Now, with regard to the production of animals, it amounts with me to the ſame, whether we conſider them ſpringing out of the earth, as they might, for what we know, in the beginning; or generated from creatures of the ſame ſpecies antecedent to them. For whether it be in the wombs of the earth, or in the womb of an animal, the matter muſt be rightly diſpoſed for this production; muſt have in it the proper ſeminal principle; and be endued with that prolific power, which appears not to be any innate quality in matter. There may, for aught we know, be one general plaſtic nature belonging to the whole terreſtrial globe, by which all plants and vegetables may be differently formed, according to their different ſeeds. But what has this to do with animal life? You may proceed in the ſame manner, and ſuppoſe one more univerſal diſplayed through the whole corporeal ſyſtem, which makes all things conſpire every where, and agree together in order and harmony. But neither of theſe can we poſſibly conceive to be any thing more, than the laws of motion derived to matter from a firſt intelli-

gent cauſe, who muſt be the beginner of motion, which experience teaches is not eſſential to matter, and the author of life, ſenſe, and intelligence; which are things we could not poſſibly conceive to ariſe from any modifications of matter, even though motion were eſſential to it. After having ſaid this, I need not be reſerved in explaining to you, and developing of it's emblematical dreſs the religious philoſophy of the Magi. It has been falſely reported of us by thoſe, who knew little of our worſhip, that we paid divine honors to the elements and to the planetary ſyſtem. This they build upon ſlight preſumptions from a miſtaken notion of our civil ceremonies, and of the repreſentations ſaid to be concealed in the Mithriac cave. In the ſalutation of MITHRAS we do indeed addreſs ourſelves to that luminary with ſolemn feſtive pomp and rejoicing; but it begins in the name of OROMASDES, and is directed to his honor alone, whom we praiſe for the benefits derived upon us from the ſun, his great ſymbol and vicegerent in the heavens. Of the ſame kind is our feſtival of the moon, of Mars, and the other planets. The figures concealed in the Mithriac cave are aſtrological repreſentations of the elements, of the zodiac, and climes of the heavens; as the cave itſelf is the repreſentation of the world at large, in which the radiant MITHRAS fills the principal orb, diſperſing his influence through the whole ſyſtem. 'Tis well known, that in our ſolemn proceſſions the chariot, or horſe, dedicated to the ſun, is always preceded by an empty chariot, ſacred to OROMASDES. This is not intended for mere idle pageantry,

antry, but to emblematize an holy doctrine. OROMASDES is with us conſidered as the firſt and ſupreme director of this moſt perfect chariot of the univerſe; and the ſun, though the moſt glorious of all apparent objects, yet diſpenſes his influence through the viſible creation, only in ſubordination to that inviſible power: and thus there is an unity of power, and a monarchy in the univerſe. What therefore the Greeks have falſly called a Theogony in the hymn uſually ſung by the officiating Mage at our ſacrifices, is no more than ZOROASTER's doctrine of the origin of the elements, and of the great phænomena of nature." "The Mithriac ceremonies, ſaid PYTHON, have generally been objected to you by the Greeks, upon your diſclaiming a viſible divinity, and thought inconſiſtent with your pretended averſion to image-worſhip. How is it we hear of your MITHRAS pictured like a Perſian king, trampling upon and wounding the ſides of a proſtrate ox, which naturally puts one in mind of the Βυφονία of the Greeks; a ceremony, to ſpeak freely, of a very ridiculous kind, performed annually to the terror of all oxen, in memory of one, which had the boldneſs to devour the ſacred corn, which was kept for the feſtival of BACCHUS." "You are reſolved, I ſee, ſaid TEASPES, to force your admittance into the myſtic cave. However, I am not unwilling to indulge your curioſity ſo far, as may ſerve to undeceive you in theſe prejudices. Know then, that the concerns of agriculture and paſtoral life, which employed mankind in the early ages of the world, firſt fixed their atten-

tion upon the heavens; and that as the fruitfulneſs of the earth, and of the animals upon it, was fancied to depend on the influence of the heavenly bodies, thoſe objects, about which the firſt obſervers were daily converſant, and in which they were moſtly intereſted, gave names to the conſtellations, which marked out to them the ſeveral ſeaſons. Such portions, for inſtance, of the zodiac, as the ſun paſſed through in the vernal months, they diſtinguiſhed by the conſtellations, obſerved to be in thoſe diviſions, which they named the ram, and bull, in alluſion to the genial influence, which the ſun had, at that ſeaſon, upon their flocks and herds, exciting them to propagate their kind. The next diviſion of the zodiac is denominated from the twins of beaſts, the emblem alluding to this, that the animals before mentioned are obſerved commonly to increaſe by twins. So that the figure of MITHRAS trampling upon the bull is no more than an aſtrological emblem, implying the influence the ſun has upon that ſpecies of animals, when he appears in that ſign, or when the heavens are in that particular conſtellation with reſpect to us." "I perceive, ſaid PYTHON, that not ſatisfied with having dethroned the Gods of Greece, you will go on to vindicate the religion of ZOROASTER at the expence of our whole poetical mythology. Neither the golden fleece, nor the twin ſons of LEDA, nor the unfortunate daughter of ICARUS, ſhall preſerve their ſtation among the ſtars." "Indeed, ſaid TEASPES, the celeſtial virgin, for ſome ages, was taken only for a poor leaſing maid, holding the ſibul or ear of corn,

corn, in token of the harveſt, till your poets, in complaiſance to the fair ſex, diſcovered her pedigree and deſcent from DEDALUS." "Well, replied PYTHON, I could be reconciled to you upon this head, had I not, in the capacity of a Greek, the ſame grievous complaint againſt you in this, as I had in the former queſtion. You take pains firſt to mortify the vanity of my countrymen, by proving them to have been colonies from other nations; and now you proceed to leſſen the reputation of our Orphic doctrines, by expoſing their Phœnician original. And, to ſay the truth, if the Orphic doctrines are no more than Phœnician or Ægyptian fables, I fear the popular divinities have proceeded from the ſame ſource, and have a like precarious exiſtence with Night and Erebus, or Love and Diſcord among the Orphic principles. But, to ſpeak freely, I can more eaſily part with theſe, than not acknowledge that eternal mind, the principle you contend for, in the origin of things."

I thought, CLEANDER, ſome account of this converſation would not prove unentertaining to thee, who never couldſt enſlave thy reaſon to arbitrary tenets, nor meanly proſtitute thy aſſent to any popular prejudices. In matters of indifference to religion or civil life, it would be deemed very unjuſt to deny men the free exerciſe of their own thoughts; and ſurely thoſe ſubjects, that are of importance to either, deſerve a free and impartial enquiry, the more on that very account. TEASPES felt a ſenſible pleaſure to find the Greek agent ſit ſo looſe to his national prejudices; and ſince

he

he is ſo well inclined to the rational belief of one ſupreme mind, doubts not of bringing him to embrace the doctrines of ZOROASTER. Thou, who frequenteſt the Lycæum and the porches of the Greek philoſophers, mayeſt eaſily account for the ſecret prevalence of thoſe rational opinions, which, the politic lawgiver had reaſon to fear, might one day prove injurious to the Gods of his own eſtabliſhment, when he made it penal to diſſent openly from the national ſuperſtition.

L.

End of the Third Volume.

ADDENDA

ADDENDA to the Corrections in the Second Volume.

IN the Contents of LETTER LXXXII. *For* ARCHARNENSES, *read* ACHARNENSES.

Page 6. *Line* 13. *For* there, *read* theſe.

P. 15. L. 1. *For* aſtronomical, *read* phyſical.

P. 24. L. 27. *Between the words* [citadel PIRÆEUS] *inſert a comma* [,].

P. 26. L. 1. *Dele* or more.

P. 34. L. 24. *For* chicanry, *read* chicanery.

P. 40. L. 17. *Between the words*, [and eagerneſs] *inſert* an.

P. 57. L. 4. }
P. 62. L. 2. } *For* HYDRASPES, *read* HYDASPES.

P. 65. L. 7. *For* SYSIPHUS, *read* SISYPHUS.

P. 79. L. 6. *Dele* ſingular.

P. 82. L. 2. *For* buſiy, *read* buſy.

P. 83. L. 1. *For* ZURDUSHT, *read* ZERDUSHT.

P. 89. L. 16. *For* DORICUS, *read* DOLICHUS.

P. 94. L. 20. *For* only prevented, *read* who were only preventing.

P. 100. L. 13. *For* Greecian, *read* Græcian.

P. 125. L. 9. *For* reaſon, *read* reaſoning.

P. 144. L. 1. *For* caracciatura's, *read* caricaturas.

P. 149. L. 15. *At the word* conferring *make an aſteriſk referring to this note, which ſhould be at the bottom of the page*, [See Letter LV.]

P. 151. L. 8. *Dele the words* valour or of wiſdom, *inſtead of which inſert the word* either.

P. 156. L. 11. *For* reaſoningss, *read* reaſonings.

P. 157. L. 10. *Dele* all, *which is repeated.*

. . . . L. 12. *Inſert* with *between the words* and ſpirit.

P. 167. L. 24. *For* τεαφιεήσι τι πίειξ, *read* τεαφιεῆς τι πίειξ.

P. 170. L. 22. *Dele* to, *which is repeated.*

P. 184. L. 30. *For* corn, *read* Coan.

P. 188. L. 15. *For* POLYCETUS, *read* POLYCLETUS.

P. 194. L. 10. *For* themſelves of, *read* themſelves in.

P. 200, 201, 202. *Read* Platæa *and* Platæans, *eight times.*

P. 203. . . . . *Is paged* 302 *erroneouſly.*

P. 231. L. 15. *For* fluttter, *read* flutter.

. . . . . L. 17. *For* now is, *read* is now.

Page

Page 238. *L.* 9. *For* refuted, *read* refuſed.
P. 243. *L.* 16. *For* irradition, *read* irradiation.
P. 257. *L.* 6. *For* Ichneumon, *read* Ibis.

ERRATA in the ERRATA of the Second Volume.

Page 54. *L.* 16. *read*, *P.* 57. *L.* 16.
P. 143. *L.* antepenult. *read L.* penult.
P. 208. *L.* 26. *Dele* as *only*, *not* as to.

ERRATA of this Third Volume.

PAGE 9. *L.* 3. *For* philoſophers, *read* philoſopher.
Ibid. L. 27. *For* this, *read* the.
P. 10. *L.* 5. *For* this, *read* the.
P. 19. *L.* 21. *For* Platea, *read* Platæa, *and ſo wherever it occurs throughout the Volume.*
P. 29. *L.* 12. *For* year's, *read* years.
P. 38. *L.* 3. *For* county, *read* country.
P. 43. *L.* 3-4. *Between the words* [operations the] *inſert* [of.]
Ibid. L. 4. *For* this, *read* the.
P. 46. l. 10. *For* perhaps, *read* poſſibly.
P. 54. *L.* 5. *For* which, *read* that.
P. 88. *L.* 9. *For* rights, *read* right.
P. 106. *L.* 10. *For* are, *read* is.
Ibid. L. 27. *For* ſhould, *read* ſhall.
P. 136. *At the end of the Letter to* BAGOAS, *inſert the marks* P. and W.
P. 145. *L.* 1. *Between the words* [entire aſcendency] *inſert* an.
P. 152. *L.* 7. *For* his, *read* the.
P. 157. *L.* 19. *For* defect, *read* defects.
P. 160. *L.* 1. *For* numbers, *read* number.
P. 172. *L.* antepen. *Make an aſterisk at* * *mother, and a note at the bottom,* Vid. Cteſ. Fragm.
P. 180. *L.* 3. *For* utmoſt, *read* inmoſt.
P. 194. *For* Neocorus, *read* Neòcorus.
Ibid. At the end of the Letter from HIPPIAS *inſert the mark* S.
P. 209. *L.* 27. *At the word Epheſian make an aſterick, referring to this note to be inſerted at the bottom of the page,* See Letter CXXXIV.
P. 219. *L.* antepen. *in the note. Dele the comma's after the words* [be] *and* [he], *and inſert a comma between the words* [ſaid he].
P. 225. *L.* 4. *For* their, *read* the.